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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 191



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VATICAN-PRC RELATIONS DISCUSSED

OWO21032 Hong Kong AFP in English 0957 GMT 2 May 81

[Report by Raymond Perrot-Minot]

[Text] Vatican City, May 2 (AFP)--The arrival here on Thursday of Chinese Bishop Dominique Teng for a month's stay is part of on-going moves to bring the Catholic Church of China back into communion with Rome, informed Vatican sources indicated today.

Formerly apostolic administrator of Guangzhou, Bishop Teng, 73, was freed by Chinese authorities last June after 22 years' imprisonment and is the only prelate of the National Catholic Church in China to have remained openly steadfast to the Roman obedience.

He is also the first to visit the Vatican since 1957 and the fact that Pope John Paul II received him in audience so soon after he arrived indicated the visit's importance in the reconciliation process, according to the sources.

It was understood that Bishop Teng, who is staying at the mother house of the Jesuit order near St Peter's, would have further meetings with the Pontiff.

He has already conferred with Cardinal Angelo Rossi, prefect of the sacred congregation for evangelization of the peoples and causes of the saints, the Vatican department responsible for the church in China.

Initial moves to try and bring the Chinese Catholic Church of China back to the Roman fold were already afoot last spring, with informal visits to China by Cardinal Franz Koenig, archbishop of Vienna and head of the Vatican's Secretariat for non-believers, and Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, archbishop of Marseilles and president of the French bishop's conference.

They subsequently reported on their missions to the Pope and his secretary of state--Cardinal Agostino Casaroli being a specialist in Chinese relations.

The two emissaries were understood to have made it clear that reconciliation would necessarily involve official contacts between China and the Holy See.

What was still in doubt, however, was whether China's National Catholic Church--which appoints its own bishops and ordains its own clergy without papal authority--was disposed to submit to that authority again or was intent on remaining under the Chinese state.

The Vatican view at present is that if anyone has the qualifications for initiating the delicate dialogue between Beijing and the Holy See, that person is the eminently qualified Bishop Teng.

Born in the British crown colony of Hong Kong, he studied in nearby Macao before entering the Jesuit order and being ordained priest.

Consecrated bishop in 1951, he was appointed apostolic administrator of Guangzhou to replace the absent incumbent of that post, who subsequently died in exile.

Bishop Teng was ultimately arrested in February 1958, and not released for 22 years.

Four months after being set free last June, he was elected bishop of Guangzhou by a congress of clergy of the patriotic association, as the church in China is now called--despite his continued refusal to be part of that association.

Last February, while undergoing medical treatment in Hong Kong with the blessing of Chinese authorities, Bishop Teng was visited by Cardinal Casaroli, who had been accompanying the Pope on his tour of the Philippines and Japan.

The secretary of state reported back to the Pope with the bishop's appreciation of the obstacles to getting relations between the patriotic church and the Holy See back on a normal footing.

Among the obstacles is the Chinese hierarchy and its irregular status in Rome's eyes. Some 50 bishops of the patriotic church have been consecrated without Vatican sanction and their appointment is seen here as technically null and void.

Another major obstacle, as Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng has noted, is Vatican recognition of the Chinese nationalist regime on the island of Taiwan.

On the eve of his visit to the Vatican in November 1979, Chairman Hua indicated that no contact with the Vatican could be considered as long as the Holy See "continued to maintain relations with the Kuomintang in Taiwan."

Observers here noted, however, that since 1979 the papal Nuncio to the Taiwanese capital Taipei has been replaced by a charge d'affaires and the Nuncio's post is at present technically vacant.

In a recent interview Bishop Teng said in Hong Kong that "the first thing to do is to re-establish relations with the (Chinese) Government."

He noted that "We have been working on this on our side," referring to his visit from Cardinal Casaroli and the pope's homily in Manila, with its cordial message to the faithful in China.

"Now we are awaiting a response from the (Chinese) Government," Bishop Teng said.

The response, according to observers, was the arrival here of Bishop Teng himself--a sign, surely, that things are beginning to move.

CSO: 4020/180

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

INDIAN OFFICIAL INVITED--New Delhi, 24 Apr (AFP)--The Standing Committee of the National Peoples Congress of China has extended an invitation to a delegation of Indian members of parliament to visit China, it was disclosed here today. In a written reply in the Upper House, Shivraj Patil, junior minister for defence, said the delegation of about 10 MPs to be headed by the speaker of the Lower House has been invited around June-July this year or at any time convenient to both sides. The Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries has also invited the India-China Friendship Association to send two delegations to visit that country this year, he added. Mr. Patil, however, did not say whether the invitations have been accepted. [BK241651 Hong Kong AFP in English 1125 GMT 24 Apr 81]

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PARTY AND STATE

CALL TO SUPPORT CENTRALIZED, UNIFIED LEADERSHIP

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by Staff Commentator: "We Must Unconditionally Uphold the Party's Centralized and Unified Leadership"]

[Excerpt] All party organizations and all party personnel must unconditionally support the party's centralized, unified leadership. This is the most fundamental principle of party life. We are now in the midst of resolutely implementing the economic adjustments and great political plan which have been determined by the Party Central and it is of specially great importance that we firmly carry out these tasks according to this principle.

We are now involved in the great task of building socialist modernization. Carrying out this great struggle requires strengthening of the party's high level centralized, unified leadership. Unless the entire party is unified both politically and ideologically and in organization and coordinates all its efforts the party will not have the strength to carry out this struggle and will not be able to lead the entire nation of people in the victorious implementation of building the four modernizations. During the past 10-some years our party firmly carried out the principles of democratic centralism which require that the individual submit to the organization, the minority submit to the majority, the lower levels submit to the upper levels, and the entire party submit to the Party Central. This guaranteed that the party would have strong leadership, defeat its powerful enemies, overcome difficulties on the road to progress and be victorious in revolution and construction. We are now faced with an extremely difficult task and a complex situation in making firm progress in the construction of the four modernizations and in carrying out adjustments of the national economy, so there must be increased emphasis on centralization and unity of the entire party to enable each party organization and each party member to consciously perform his duties according to party regulations, completely submit to the rulings of the Party Central, act entirely in the interests of the party and the people and be models in protecting the party's centralized, unified leadership.

The most fundamental aspect of protecting the party's centralized, unified leadership is to resolutely carry out the party's line, direction and policy. The party's third, fourth and fifth plenums worked to restore order, determined ideological line, political line and organizational line in the new period the

party's and all directions and policies would work for the restoration and promotion of our party's superior traditions and workstyle of proceeding from reality, relating theory to fact and seeking truth from the facts. This has had a profound and far-reaching influence on the smooth construction of the four modernizations. Since the Third Party Plenum all levels of the provincial party and the broad party membership have resolutely and positively implemented the Party Central's line, direction and policy. This consequently promoted good developments in all aspects of the entire province's task in developing the economic and political conditions. However, it must be noted that at the present stage of implementing the party's line, direction and policy, especially in the implementation of economic adjustments and in carrying out the policy of political stability, a small number of party members and cadres still have a few problems which we must sincerely try to resolve. Some comrades are not sufficiently strict in carrying out Party Central directives. When they carry out Party Central directives they do not unite the work and ideological conditions of the local districts, departments and units to sincerely solve the problem but rather adopt the mistaken attitude of making perfunctory gestures. They must be taught to improve their understanding, correct their attitude and to establish a spirit of working with a high sense of responsibility for the party's undertakings. In carrying out all party directives and directions they must proceed from their own real conditions to positively and thoroughly implement them. Some comrades have created an opposition between the present great adjustments to the economy and the spirit of the Third Party Plenum because they believe that since the third plenum the party direction and policies have changed and this has made them negative and suspicious. This is also incorrect. They must be taught to correctly understand that this adjustment is a continuation and development of the correct policy and direction initiated by the third plenum and is progress in the implementation of the third plenum's guiding ideology in the rectification of the leftist errors. For us to correct work errors which do not agree with the spirit of the third plenum; to eliminate unrealistic suppositions and to eliminate subjectivist directives is work which is necessary under the line of the third plenum. There also is an extremely small number of party members and cadres who work for their own interests and negatively resist the present stage of the implementation of the line, direction and policy, some of them giving open support while secretly opposing these policies in a double-dealing manner. Party discipline cannot permit such acts. Such people must undergo strict criticism and education to make them change their mistaken ways. If education cannot change them then they should be subjected to party discipline. All party cadres and Communist Party members must obey and uphold party discipline and wage a relentless struggle against all mistaken tendencies which are contrary to party line, direction and policy.

In terms of our guiding ideology, upholding the party's centralized, unified leadership requires that we sincerely eliminate the influences of leftist ideology. In the 30-some years since the nation was founded we have learned some profound lessons in economic construction. The most important lesson is the necessity of firmly escaping the bonds of "leftist" mistaken guiding ideology. Why is it that the road of our economic construction has been so erratic and must now make another major adjustment? The root of the problem lies in "leftist" errors. Ever since the third plenum the Party Central has

determined to resolve this problem and all ensuing lines, directions and policies have shown their resolution to rectify "leftist" errors. If we do not consciously work to eliminate the influence of "leftist" errors then we will be unable to correctly understand the true spirit of the party's direction and policies in the present stage and will be unable to get the main points and grasp what is essential. We are now in the process of eliminating the influence of "leftist" errors. First, in terms of economic work, we must excel in proceeding from the true conditions in our province rather than carrying out matters according to some subjective wishes. Our province has a huge population with little land and a poor base. In terms of the total population the agricultural resources are sparse. Our economic, cultural and health conditions are all relatively backward. In economic construction we cannot make overly harsh demands, push for quick results, carry out large-scale plans with high quotas or conduct any unrealistic slogans. Rather, we must plant our feet securely on the ground, work according to our strength and move cautiously through any dangerous places. Second, in terms of theory, we must make realistic distinctions between what is socialism and what is capitalism. Regarding the system of ownership of the means of production, the principle of to each according to his work and in the production of commodities we absolutely must not criticize socialist things as "capitalism," or see the party's efforts to implement economic policy correctly and bring order out of chaos as "following the wrong road." The differences with the false socialism, of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" must be clearly distinguished. Third, is the complete and thoroughgoing transformation of past practices of heavy construction and light production, heavy accumulation and low efficiency. There must be emphasis on economic results. We must clearly understand that the goal of socialist economic construction is to satisfy the people's material and cultural needs. For many years the leftist ideology in economic work gave prominence only to accumulation and ignored consumption, spoke only of political needs and ignored economic results, and spoke only of settling "political accounts" while ignoring "economic accounts." This resulted in enormous economic losses and was very bad for our ideology and workstyle. This caused a few people to acquire the extravagant mannerisms of "spoiled elder sons." This is quite incompatible with our party traditions and socialist economic rules. The fourth thing is to suit the measures to local conditions, with individual leadership rather than arbitrary uniformity. Throughout this province there are great differences in natural conditions, the standards of the production forces are inconsistent, and so production directives ought to be issued with concern for the different conditions and characteristics in each area. In the past, under the influence of "leftist" errors, some places paid insufficient attention to this problem and operated according to subjectivism, generalizations, arbitrary uniformity and formalism, all of which influenced the development of production. Hereafter, economic construction will emphasize the superiorities of different districts, seek benefits and avoid dangers, control poverty and attain wealth, quickly increase production levels and take necessary steps to resolve these problems. Fifth is the necessity to control the mistaken ideas that "left" is better than right and that it is better to be "leftist" rather than rightist. It is necessary to change the past view that the so-called "leftism" is a matter of methodology, that it is revolutionary and that rightism is a matter of stance, that it is non-revolutionary. We must correctly understand that both "leftism" and rightism are mistaken and that both pose great dangers for our revolutionary enterprises.

We must truly absorb the lesson of the mistaken slogan that it is better to be "leftist" than rightist. At all times and under all conditions we must seek truth from facts, state the truth, work honestly and be trustworthy people.

The great tasks we are now engaged in have never before been performed by mankind and they cannot be accomplished without party leadership. Each party organization and each Communist Party member must submit to correct party leadership, pluck up his spirits and work positively. Our experiences ever since the third plenum have proven that the Party Central has foresight, that it has made an intimate connection between the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and China's national situation, that it has surveyed conditions from a commanding prospect to lead our nation and its people along the correct road to victory, and it has given the nationa new vitality and flourishing development rarely seen in the last several tens of years. It would be a grave error for anyone with a very narrow world view to believe that the party has made excessive changes and thus harbor feelings of animosity.

11582

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PARTY AND STATE

SEPARATION OF PARTY, GOVERNMENT TASKS EMPHASIZED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Mar 81 p 3

[Talk on four basic principles edited by Chu Xu (2806 2485): "We Must Improve Party Leadership in Order To Strengthen It"]

[Text] During this new historical period, our party faces many new developments and new problems. The party must build up its strength in order to exercise correct and effective leadership. One reason is that for a long time "leftist" mistakes have existed in our party, particularly the "leftist" trash peddled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in a radical way during the Great Cultural Revolution that has tarnished the brilliant image of our party and has distorted the picture of our party leadership and weakened its strength. Unless these "leftist" mistakes are corrected and their pernicious influence in many fields eliminated, talk of strengthening and improving party leadership will be meaningless. Another reason is that since the downfall of the "gang of four," with our country entering a new historical period, party leadership has been proven incapable of meeting this new challenge in many ways. Some defects still exist in our leadership system that have prevented us from making progress. In view of this, the need to improve party leadership has become more urgent than ever. In a sense, only by conscientiously and systematically improving our party leadership can we more effectively uphold and strengthen it.

Some comrades have asked: In what ways can party leadership be improved? From an observation of the currently existing problems that have already been exposed, the following four ways command our great attention:

First, it is necessary to demonstrate great determination to rectify the party's workstyle in order to revive and carry forward its fine tradition and restore and raise its prestige among the masses of people. Comrade Chen Yun said recently: "The problem concerning the workstyle of our ruling party is a problem that may spell the survival or demise of our party." This remark sharply points out that it is extremely important to rectify the party's workstyle. Ours was a party known for its good workstyle before it came to power. At that time, we faced a harsh environment and ruthless struggles. We would have risked alienating the masses and being defeated and annihilated by the enemy if we had practiced any form of subjectivism and bureaucracy and sought any special privileges. Since the party came to power, the environment has changed. As a result, some unhealthy ideas have gradually grown in the minds of some comrades, and bad workstyles have begun to prevail over the party. Particularly during the 10 years of catastrophe, the party's workstyle was undermined in a way that was unprecedented in history. Some party members have either taken a contemptuous attitude toward party character or do not know what it really means to them. They have devoted themselves to enhancing extreme individualism

and the interests of their small factions at the expense of the interests of the party and the people. Some of them have used their authority as a channel to expand their social connections, to carry out backdoor dealings, to enhance their private interests and to win special privileges for themselves. Some have been leading a comfortable life, acting arbitrarily without seeking consultations, perching atop the hierarchy of officialdom and regarding themselves as overlords. All these unhealthy lifestyles have seriously distorted the image of our party, and undermined relations between the party and the masses which are like that of fish to water, and weakened the strength of party leadership. We must be resolved to redress them and persist in doing so. Otherwise, the talk of upholding and strengthening party leadership will become an empty slogan. We must encourage all party members to restore and carry forward the party's excellent tradition, to share weal and woe with the masses, and to serve their interests wholeheartedly. Only in this way can our party win greater respect from 1 billion people and pledge to provide a reliable leadership.

Second, it is necessary to reform party leadership so that it can be relieved of administrative affairs and pledge to provide a correct and powerful political leadership. The party usually exercises its leadership through the implementation of its correct programs, line, principles and policies. In other words, every party organization must lead all its members, cadres and the masses to strive for the thorough implementation of the party line and to insure the correct enforcement of its principles and policies. It must rely on ideological and political work as a powerful measure to educate party members and the masses and to inspire cadres and party members to play an exemplary role in handling all types of contradictions properly and in mobilizing all positive factors to fulfill the party's objectives and tasks with one heart and one mind. For a long time, however, our party organizations in many localities have mistaken political leadership for executive and administrative leadership, and the party for the government and have confused the former with the latter. As a result, the party committee of each unit has become the only programmer of all its work, both important and unimportant, which must be approved by its secretary alone. Party organizations have even taken over the programs which should be carried out by administrative departments. This method of leadership has got party organizations bogged down so deep in the quagmire of administrative affairs that they have found little time to grasp their own work well, an instance being that they have failed to take prompt action to prevent and correct tendencies of violating the party's line, principles and policies. Have they strengthened or weakened party leadership by doing things in this manner? Obviously, the answer is the latter and not the former. For this reason, it is essential to relieve the party of administrative affairs as a step toward improving and strengthening its leadership and toward developing the four modernizations program. The party should serve as the helmsman rather than as the crew members on a ship. Taking the performance of a band for example, its role is to direct the band well but not to act as players of violins or flutes.

Third, it is necessary to strengthen party discipline in order to build the party into a strong fighting headquarters capable of leading the four modernizations program. Iron discipline is a guarantee of the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. As a result of the turmoil that lasted 10 years, party discipline has been forgotten. Even today, it has not been restored in its entirety.

As a result of the laxity of discipline, assertions of independence, advocacy of doing everything in one's own righteous way, and even the absurd attitude of complying in public but opposing in private have become part of our party life. Therefore, the strengthening of party discipline is essential to the strengthening of party leadership. We must teach all party members to strictly observe party discipline. Before a decision is adopted by our party organization, we must give full play to democracy within the party, permit the airing and discussion of different opinions, and grant every party member the right to present his views and the right to criticism. But as soon as a decision is made, it should be observed and enforced by party members without any objections. This being the case, no party member is permitted to express dissatisfaction with or opposition to the party's line, principles and policies. Although party members have the right to criticize shortcomings and mistakes resulting from the performance of work by the party, their criticism should be constructive. They should come up with positive views on how to improve our work rather than complain and spread absurdities and abusive words behind the back of their party organizations. Otherwise, party leadership will be weakened.

Fourth, it is necessary to strengthen the organizational work of the party in order to build a contingent of cadres full of young, professional and knowledgeable talent. Although our party has a correct political line, it requires a large number of competent and able cadres to do a lot of organizational work to carry it out. At present, our cadre contingent still cannot adapt itself to the needs of organizational work and still faces the following outstanding problems: 1) The cadre contingent is not reasonably structured in face of the shortage of professionally competent cadres trained in management; 2) Middle-aged and young cadres are lacking as leading cadres are growing older and older; 3) There still exist in the cadre system loopholes which have retarded their growth and have prevented them from playing a positive role. If no effective remedial measures are taken, the existence of these problems may hamper progress in realizing the four modernizations. This is why the structure of the cadre contingent should be reformed, leading bodies should be continuously reorganized, and strong cadres with professional knowledge and organizational capability should be selected and appointed to fill the leading posts at all levels to meet the needs of our party for leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country to carry out the four modernizations program.

In the face of the difficult tasks for realizing the four modernizations and for strengthening and improving party leadership, we have much to do. For example, how can the leadership workstyle be rectified and how can ideological and political work be successfully carried out for this new period? How can we give full play to the role of basic level party organizations as fighting headquarters? Only by effectively improving party leadership can we efficiently uphold and strengthen it. Only thus can our party assume the heavy mission assigned by history to lead the broad masses of people to fulfill the great cause of the four modernizations.

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS MUST TAKE LEAD IN SHARING STATE'S BURDENS

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by ZHEJIANG RIBAO Commentator: "Communist Party Members Should Take the Lead in Sharing and Shouldering the State's Burden"]

[Text] The report that he "gave up his new housing in favor of the comrade who needed housing badly" gladdens one's heart and inspires one with enthusiasm, like a gentle spring breeze.

Communist Party member Xue Maofu's (3641 5399 5346) conduct is touching because he stops at nothing to place the welfare of others before his own. Such new relations between men are precisely a characteristic of socialist society. How we need to hold in esteem this noble style and breadth of vision today, when we are building the spiritual civilization of socialism!

After the "gang of four" was smashed, and particularly in the past 2 years, the party and government put great importance on solving the problem of the people's livelihood and did solve many problems that had accumulated over the past years. The result is that the people's living condition is much improved. But because our population is large, the state is not yet in a position to spend much money to satisfy the needs of the masses. Under such circumstances, we will not only ask party cadres to manifest the spirit "Be the first to worry and plan ahead and the last to enjoy," and to restore and develop the party's fine style, but also to regard it as necessary to encourage and promote between neighbors and among the masses the revolutionary spirit of "putting the welfare of others first." As a party member, Comrade Xue Maofu gives his first thought not to his own housing problem but to the fact that "the state is still in such a difficult economic position that more housing cannot be built for the workers immediately." This thinking and sentiment are worthy of being learned and followed by us. There are some people and even party members who, influenced by the ideology of the exploiting classes, consider "selfishness" to be human nature and do not recognize that there are people who are devoted to the welfare of others." Thus they consider it clever to go after enjoyment, and foolish to be the first to endure hardships. There are also those who would "demand payment of debt" on hearing that we owe them something; when they do not get what they want right away, they are full of grievances and slack in their work. There is a very small number of party cadres who are reluctant to part with their privileges and who want to "gild the lily" when it comes to housing. How far such conduct is from that of Comrade Xue Maofu!

Some ask: Do I not suffer a loss if I place the welfare of others before mine? Yes, as an individual one is bound to suffer some loss. It is by suffering loss that one's noble qualities are brought to light. Engels said that if one does not manifest the spirit of suffering loss (called "compromise" by the "ancestors"), society can hardly exist, even if it is composed of only two people. In the years of revolutionary war, many fine children of our Chinese nation gave their lives on the battlefield and faced execution bravely. Which of them ever said: "I suffered a loss?" It is precisely because of these millions upon millions of selfless fighters, who were not afraid of suffering losses and who shed their blood and gave their lives, that we have the new China of today. Don't people often compare the motherland to their mother? Mother is poor now, and is unable to satisfy the material needs of her nearly 1 billion children. If the children do not sympathize with their mother in her difficulties, and if they vie with one another to "eat square meals," how can mother bear the burden? Therefore, each of us party members, each of us cadres, and each citizen must regard the difficulties of the state as their own difficulties and the sufferings of others as their own sufferings, become revolutionary "fools," and share and shoulder the burdens of the state by placing the welfare of others before their own and by taking practical actions to work for the public interest.

9780

CSO: 4006/556

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS EXHORTED TO ACT IN ACCORD WITH PROPER NORMS

Party Spirit

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 19 Mar 81 pg 3

[Note by Wan Peifei [3769 0160 7378]: "What is Party Spirit?"]

[Text] What is party spirit? Some comrades think party spirit is an abbreviation of party nature. Other comrades think party spirit is class nature. Still other comrades think party spirit is the norm of party members' personal action. There is no consensus of opinion.

What is party spirit? Party spirit is the concentrated expression of class nature. The party spirit of the proletarian political party is the concentrated expression of the class nature of the proletariat. When we say one's party spirit is not strong, we mean that he does not follow the party principle politically, ideologically, and with moral character and style of work, and that his personal action does not accord with the interests of the party. If a party member wants to intensify training in party spirit, he must study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought hard, keep taking part in revolutionary practice and overcoming bourgeois ideology, and play an exemplary role as a vanguard at his post.

Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Liu Shaoqi made many brilliant expositions on the question of party spirit. For example, Comrade Liu Shaoqi's exhaustive exposition on the question of party spirit in his "How To Be a Good Communist" may be gotten and read.

Proper Conduct

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 19 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Jiang Zhifang [3068 1807 5364]: "Be Healthy Cells Within the Party Organ"]

[Text] The human organism is composed of numerous cells. The Chinese Communist Party is composed of millions upon millions of members. The relationship between party members and the party is like that between the cells and the organism. Party members must place their personal interests and the overall interests of the party in their proper place.

There are two wrong tendencies in the relationship between party members and the party. One tendency is that the leaders of some party organizations equate themselves with the party, do not stand for any criticism by others, and thunder with rage when criticized by others: "I am the party, and anyone who is against me is against the party."

There are others who separate themselves from the party and remain indifferent to conduct that harms the organism of the party, placing themselves outside the party. There are even party members who make wrong speeches in public to damage the image of the party.

How party members bring their exemplary role as vanguards into play has a direct bearing on the prestige of the party. Proletarian revolutionaries of the elder generation set us an example in handling the relationship between themselves and the party. Under all circumstances, they placed the interests of the party above everything else and unconditionally subordinated their personal interests to the interests of the party. They gave the party credit for achievements in their work, but when their work went wrong, they would examine themselves and find out the reason why they had failed to fulfill the assignments given them by the party, draw a lesson from it, and improve themselves enthusiastically. In the years of revolutionary war, many party members took the lead in charging forward and heroically dedicated themselves to the cause of the party and the people. They would never damage their party organizations or betray their comrades, even when the enemy held a butcher's knife at their necks. They would declare: "I belong to the party." They were worthy of being called healthy cells in the party organism.

Communist Party members are not free from this and that mistake. But a party member animated with party spirit will never hold the party responsible for his mistakes and will always accept mass criticism with an open mind, and on his own initiative, he will reveal his mistakes to his party organization, sincerely let his party organization teach and deal with him, and draw a lesson therefrom. Such is the correct attitude for handling the relationship between himself and the party.

The question of the party style of the ruling party is a matter of life and death for the party. To ensure a correct party style, each Communist Party member must be the first to take action, implement the "guiding principles" in an exemplary manner, and wage a resolute struggle against all unhealthy tendencies that harm the organism of the party. As long as each of us Communist Party members becomes a healthy cell in the party's organism, carries out the party's line and policies, and is of one heart and one mind with the party, we shall certainly be able to ensure good party style and build the party well.

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CSP: 4005/556

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO DENOUNCE ANTIMODERNIZATION IDEAS

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 81 p 1

[Article by NINGXIA RIBAO commentator: "Grasp Good Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] Last December, the work conference sponsored by the Party Central Committee adopted an important policy for further readjusting the economy and for bringing about greater political stability, explicitly emphasizing the need to strengthen ideological and political work as a task of prime importance to the party as a guarantee for the thorough implementation of this policy. Since the beginning of this year, as a result of a concentrated and conscientious study of the central work conference documents, party committees at all levels throughout this autonomous region have reached a more widespread understanding of the importance, necessity and urgent nature of strengthening ideological and political work. Recently, the campaigns to learn from Lei Feng and foster a new socialist atmosphere, and the "five stresses" and "four beauties" activities have gained momentum in Yinchuan and other cities. This fact vividly proves that the building of a socialist spiritual civilization has won popular support and that strengthening ideological and political work is an inevitable trend popular with the people. Our present question concerns whether the leading bodies at all levels can truly concentrate their efforts on grasping ideological and political work as a matter of prime importance and carry it out successfully.

First, we must uphold the principle of placing ideological work ahead of all other work, and make coordinated efforts to solve practical and ideological problems. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the entire party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks." This has been proven to be an irrefutable truth by our party as a result of several decades of practice. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," despite our criticism of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques theories that "spirit is omnipotent" and "will-power decides everything," we have never negated the important role of the human spirit in knowing and changing the world under given conditions. Nevertheless, we have attached greater importance than ever to the role of the human spirit and have persisted in the principle of placing ideological work in the forefront at a time when everything needs to be done and the national economy faces serious difficulties in building socialism. Even if all problems left by history are solved, and the economic situation takes a turn for the better, we still cannot give up the principle

of placing ideological work, or ideological and political work, in the forefront. The reason is that by then we may have many new problems to tackle and new difficulties to overcome. Furthermore, the modern socialist power we are going to build requires not only a high-level material civilization but also a high-level spiritual civilization. Usually, there are two categories of problems to be resolved in the course of carrying out ideological and political work among the masses: 1) ideological problems; and 2) practical problems. In the past when we engaged in ideological and political work, we often emphasized the former and neglected the latter. This is why we could not achieve the intended results in this field. We must realize that if we paid no attention to the plight of the masses; if we made no conscientious efforts to help them solve practical problems resulting from their work, study and daily activities or problems that need to be solved and can be solved; and if we discussed with them only general matters, separating their ideological problems from their practical problems, we would alienate the masses and would fail. But we also cannot abandon ideological and political work in order to devote full time to solving practical problems. Because every practical problem is connected with ideological and epistemological problems, we must make proper efforts to solve it in accordance with the party's line, principles and policies. For this reason, any discussion about a potential answer to a practical problem should not be limited to the matter at issue but should be based on a correct viewpoint and follow a correct approach. Anyone wanting to solve practical problems without bothering to look for the correct guiding thought would certainly get nowhere. In recent years, a belief that "bonuses can perform miracles" has led some units to slacken their efforts in ideological and political work. Although a large number of bonuses have been handed out to the masses, their morale still seems low. The bonuses also have the bad effect of encouraging the growth of bourgeois individualism among some people. We must realize that the problems usually bothering the masses are ideological and epistemological problems. For example, there are problems resulting from an incorrect understanding of the current situation, which has led people to lose faith in the four modernizations program. There are ideological problems arising from an inadequate class analysis of capitalist society, which has led people to blindly worship everything foreign. There are problems resulting from the existence of unhealthy workstyles among some party members, which has caused some people to lose faith in the party. If problems as such are not solved properly, it is impossible to raise the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism. An answer to such problems comes mainly from the implementation of ideological and political work and from the well-directed publicizing of political and economic developments at home, the party's line, principles and policies, and the four basic principles, which can help the masses raise their political consciousness. For this reason, any ideas that underestimate the role of ideological and political work are wrong.

Second, in dealing with ideological problems, we must pay attention to their different nature and different types of contradictions and adopt different policies. In dealing with ideological and epistemological problems among the people, we must persist in enforcing a policy of persuasion, and apply methods of formal education and democratic discussion, cite facts and reasons and use convincing power to resolve contradictions. In criticizing people, we must take a friendly but earnest attitude rather than resort to arm twisting and coercion. There are some problems that may baffle people. We must allow them time to think such problems over and

must be patient with them. In short, in tackling ideological and epistemological problems, we must persist in the principle of the "four don'ts" rather than resort to simple-minded and violent measures to shut their mouths and suppress their voices. But we must also realize that although the socialist economic and political systems have taken root in our country, although the exploiters no longer exist as a class and although class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society, it is still taking place under the increasing impact of class struggles abroad. This being the case, our society still faces active counterrevolutionaries, counter-attacks mounted by remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the resurgence of the remnants of the exploiting classes, decadent feudal and capitalist ideas, troubles stirred up by criminals of all sorts, and sabotage by those who would like to see the world torn by disorder. The activities of these people, including their ideas and speeches, have gone beyond the category of ideological and epistemological problems among the people. Although they are in a minority, their speeches and activities are extremely harmful to the people, the country and the four modernizations program. For this reason, we should not let them go unchecked. Instead of showing them mercy, we should show resolve to stop and suppress them. Those antiparty and antisocialist ideas and speeches should be severely criticized. Those ideas and speeches attacking and opposing the four basic principles should be resolutely repudiated. All illegal propaganda materials and publications found guilty of violating the constitution and offending the criminal law should be banned according to the law. Those well-organized disruptive forces hostile to socialism and the leadership of the party should also be dealt with according to the law. Only in this way can normal social order, production order, work order, study order, and order of daily life be preserved to insure the smooth readjustment of the economy and to consolidate and develop a political situation of stability and unity.

Third, we must concentrate on grasping well the ideological education of Communist Party and CYL members. Party members are stalwarts in uniting and mobilizing the masses, while CYL members are strong assistants to the party. The facts indicate that whether the Central Committee's line, principles and policies can be thoroughly implemented, and whether the situation of stability and unity can be consolidated and developed, depend on those in the ranks of the party, especially its leadership. For this reason, the ideological education of party and CYL members should be taken as a key link in strengthening ideological and political work, because they are elements capable of influencing and mobilizing the masses around them. Resolute efforts must be made to correct the erroneous tendency of "giving party members freedom from discipline" and "giving CYL members freedom from discipline." All documents prepared for distribution and transmission to the masses should first be circulated and publicized among party and CYL members. Party and CYL members, especially the party's leading cadres, should set examples for the masses to follow whenever the masses are mobilized to do anything. All of them should be firmly committed to implementation of the Central Committee's line, principles and policies. Party organizations at all levels should serve as fighting headquarters capable of strengthening the ideological education of party and CYL members and constantly helping them to raise their political consciousness. Only in this way can they be transformed into models in implementing the party's line, principles and policies, in upholding the principle of party character, in doing everything on the basis of overall consideration, in observing party discipline, in preserving the unity of the party, and in keeping close touch with reality and the masses.

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS ENCOURAGED TO STUDY MARXIST THEORY

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Feb 81 p 4

[Article by Xiao Dezhou [5135 1795 3166]: "Let's Have a Contest in Learning Theory"]

[Text] I have recently been in touch with some party members and have found that some comrades lack sufficient understanding of the importance of learning theory. They do not take much interest in learning voluntarily. The main manifestations of this: First, there is a feeling that learning is useless. Some cadres consider that questions of directions and lines have been solved and the issue today is that we have to make an all-out effort and can no longer stand idle talk. Other comrades consider that since fundamental national policies are to be decided by the party Central Committee and theoretical problems are to be studied by special departments, what we have to do is to carry out our work. It won't make much difference whether we learn or not. Second, they are drifting through life. Although the theoretical level of some comrades is not high enough, they believe that they can cope with a situation for a long time and so are not willing to learn Marxist theory assiduously. Third, there is the fear of difficulties. Some comrades are somewhat interested in learning Marxist theory at the beginning, but after going through a few pages, they are daunted by special terms. Therefore, it is believed that they themselves are not "the ones" with an aptitude for learning theory. Fourth, there is a practice of adopting a piecemeal approach. They do not learn in a planned way but act haphazardly. Little has been accomplished as time passes by. The various situations mentioned above are obstacles to the study of Marxist theory. It is impossible to correct our ideological line if these problems are not solved, which, in turn, has a direct bearing on the future of the four modernizations.

It has long been a problem that study of theory by party members should be strengthened and that the theoretical level of the whole party should be improved. We have repeatedly emphasized this in the past. Emphasizing it again today has new significance because we live at the time of a great turning point in history and shoulder heavy responsibilities in striving for the construction of social modernization. As far as our Communist Party members are concerned, it is necessary to renew our learning about how to correctly understand the new era and how to correctly understand and implement the party lines, principles and policies.

The facts prove that it is impossible to carry out scientific socialism without having a good grasp of Marxist theory. For instance, was the "wind of communism"

stirred in 1958 to carry out scientific socialism? Why were a great number of comrades taken in by the sham socialism that was the rubbish favoring universal poverty preached by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"? All this has time and again reminded us of the fact that one who practices scientific socialism without an understanding of it is doomed to cause enormous losses to the cause of the party and the people or even to divert them from the path of Marxism and turn them astray.

Leading comrades of the party Central Committee have recently pointed out repeatedly that the entire party is requested to conscientiously foster the habit of studying Marxist theory assiduously in order to try to cultivate themselves to become Marxists worthy of the name. As long as we respond to the party's call in earnest, adhere to learning and having a good grasp of Marxist theory, and utilize Marxist-Leninist theory and Mao Zedong Thought to guide our practice, we can definitely do a good job in all respects and thereby the great undertaking of the socialist construction of the four modernizations will unquestionably be implemented successfully.

Let all of us have a contest in learning theory. Let's see who can learn more and get better results.

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PARTY AND STATE

CADRES WARNED AGAINST VIOLATING PARTY WORKSTYLE, DISCIPLINE

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Feb 81 p 4

[Article by Deng Shengrong [6772 0524 2837]: "How Should We 'Face Reality'"]

[Text] "We must face reality!" This is a pet phrase of those who indulge in evil deeds to absolve themselves of guilt or blame. It appears they have done nothing wrong in following unhealthy tendencies, but on the contrary they did so because this conforms to the trend of the times.

It is true that the severe sabotage caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" undermined the party workstyle and encouraged an unhealthy atmosphere in society. For instance, "it needs a smoke to get personal with somebody" or "a bottle of wine makes everything possible," and so forth. It is true that such unhealthy tendencies exist. However, we must take note of another reality, that is the party Central Committee, which is determined to rectify party workstyle. The party has formulated party regulations and party laws, and has dealt with a number of cases related to violations of party workstyle and party discipline. Some of the leading cadres at higher levels who indulge in evil trends have also been openly criticized. Furthermore, we must particularly take note of the fact that vast numbers of party members and the masses of people greatly detest unhealthy tendencies and are very unhappy about them. They strongly ask for rectification of unhealthy tendencies in order to preserve a fine party workstyle and a good socialist attitude. Can these realities be totally ignored? When we speak about facing reality, we mean that not only should we face the former, but also we should face the latter. If emphasis is put only on the former, it only makes people dispirited and dejected and thereby lose faith in the future. If more attention can be paid to the latter, we can then keep to the stand of the party and the people and fill people with enthusiasm in order to fight untiringly for restoring the party's image, and improving and strengthening party leadership.

At present, when our party is leading the people of the whole country to carry out the four modernizations in a concerted effort, all unhealthy tendencies that contaminate the body of our party and erode the broad masses' enthusiasm for socialism should be resolutely rectified. Communist Party members, especially party cadres at all levels, should adopt a correct attitude to "face reality" in a proper way by starting from oneself in order to set an example to the people. It cannot be imagined that it is possible to ask the masses to work selflessly for the public

interest and to observe discipline and obey the law while certain party members, especially party leading cadres, indulge in seeking personal interests and in carrying out evil practices. Can people thus be convinced? For this reason, every Communist Party member who is concerned with the cause of the party and the future of the four modernizations should naturally start from the interests of the party and the people to combat unhealthy tendencies with a clear-cut stand. Party leading cadres who have been receiving party education for years should be the first to do so. It is absolutely not allowed to conceal one's faults for fear of criticism and persist in mistakes on the pretense of allegedly "facing reality."

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PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO ACCEPT CRITICISM, CORRECT MISTAKES

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Mar 81 p 2

[Article by Bao Yan (0202 1693): "The 'Speaker' and the 'Listener'"]

[Text] It is easy to understand "blame not the speaker but be warned by his words," but it is difficult to carry it out. Here is a question of how to handle the relationship between the speaker and the listener. Recently, a minor matter led me to ponder over this question: When a deputy governor, who was reporting to a meeting, tried to strike a match to light up a cigarette, one of the participants immediately stood up and said: "Please observe the rule of not smoking in the conference room!" This deputy governor accepted the suggestion with pleasure: "I forgot the rule for a moment. Thank all of you for your supervision." Widespread applause was the immediate response in the meeting place. Although it was a trifling matter, the style of both the speaker and the listener are praiseworthy.

First, here is a speaker who knows how to speak. His attitude is commendable and his words are reasonable. The comrade who put forward his request did not refrain from speaking out because his opponent was a deputy governor on the ground that the latter knew it was wrong, nor did he hold his tongue because what was involved was a common "trifling matter." It is absolutely necessary to initiate and support this bold style. Our society is in need of such outspoken persons who can adhere to party spirit and to the interest of the people under any circumstances "regardless of one's dress." On the contrary, it would be very detrimental if evil trends such as "adapting oneself to changing circumstances" or "acting in different ways with different people" were to penetrate into our democratic life. Frequently, there is a situation whereby some comrade has obviously violated regulations and everybody considers that he has done wrong but nobody will speak out because he is the leader; or when two people have wrongly done the same thing, only one of them will be criticized and not the other because one is a common person and the other the leader. It is no wonder that somebody would whisper: "It is really to select soft cotton to pinch." I do not advocate always keeping a close watch on the leader, as if only he should be criticized. I merely admire the speaker, regardless of who he is, who speaks when necessary and does not change his attitude as circumstances change.

Second, here is a listener who is willing to listen. He feels happy and has the courage to correct his mistake when told of his errors. Perhaps the deputy governor did not really intend to violate the rule, but when he was criticized, he not only accepted the suggestion with pleasure, but also corrected his mistake immedi-

lately. In contrast to those who deliberately violate the rules and are not pleased or willing to correct mistakes when criticized, he proved himself to be praiseworthy. As far as the leading cadres are concerned, it is meaningful to say that it is necessary to correct oneself first before correcting others: First, one must oneself conscientiously observe various regulations, systems and disciplines. Second, once regulations, systems and disciplines are violated, one must listen to people's criticisms with an open mind. Third, it is not enough for one to merely express happiness when told of his errors, but he must correct his mistakes. It is not allowed to repeatedly use a polite attitude or an assertion of "it won't be repeated" to muddle through. If one does not hold himself upright, how can he correct others? To behave in this manner is beneath the dignity of a leader. It is hard for even a leader to avoid mistakes. To subject oneself to supervision by the masses is a normal practice. Why can't it be accepted with pleasure and why cannot mistakes be corrected? Again, the prestige of a leader is created on the basis of whether he can set a good example himself. "Mistakes committed by gentlemen in ancient times could be compared with solar or lunar eclipses which could be seen by the masses. When mistakes were corrected, they were admired." As far as Communist Party members and revolutionary cadres today are concerned, aren't their foresight and magnanimity inferior to those of the "gentlemen of ancient times?"

In our daily lives, everybody can be a speaker on some issues and a listener on other issues. Everybody, whether a leader or the masses, has the problem of how to correctly handle the relationship between the "speaker" and the "listener" regardless of who he may be. If everybody does it right, it will be very beneficial to rectifying the party workstyle and to the general mood of society.

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C80: 4005/533

PARTY AND STATE

NECESSARY RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH EXPLAINED

Beijing CONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Zhu Jiamu [4281 0163 2606]: "Correctly Understand and Exercise the Right of Freedom of Speech"]

[Text] Freedom of speech is one of the basic rights of citizens of our country, and insuring this right of citizens is part of the essence of implementing and promoting socialist democracy. The Chinese people gained freedom of speech the day the People's Republic of China was formed. However, because the history of our country's feudalistic society is long and its influence deep, our socialist legal system is still not strong enough, and freedom of speech definitely cannot be fully protected at all times. In particular during the 10 years of rampage, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were imposing their dictatorship, freedom of speech was roughly trampled on. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party and the government, as well as the National People's Congress, adopted many effective measures to safeguard the masses' freedom of speech; all kinds of newspapers and periodicals carried out extensive propaganda on the principles of freedom of speech; and the avenues for free expression for the people of our country became broader than ever before. Of course, all kinds of phenomena violating or suppressing the citizens' freedom of speech definitely will not and cannot disappear easily, and we must continue to engage in a struggle against this kind of phenomenon. However, we must also be aware of the fact that at present a different kind of erroneous tendency has appeared among some people. They symbolically, one-sidedly, and in a way that diverges from reality, spread propaganda to the effect that freedom of speech is absolute and should not have any kind of restriction. Some people even misuse the right of freedom of speech to engage in activities opposed to the party and to socialism. For this reason, to discuss anew some points of commonsense logic regarding freedom of speech will perhaps not be without benefit.

Some people point out that freedom of speech is a right that people are born with. And others say that freedom of speech has no proletarian or capitalistic element. Regardless of what kind of language they use to express it, the idea is that freedom of speech does not have any class nature. Although these viewpoints seem new when heard for the first time, actually they are nothing more than a translated version of the bourgeois idea of "natural rights." To be sure, historically this bourgeois concept had a progressive impact during the struggle against the autocracy of the feudal ruling classes; nevertheless, it represents, finally, a distortion of the actual condition of human society.

What is meant by freedom of speech is the freedom of people to express their views and criticisms on all kinds of questions regarding the state, society, and the world. For this reason, like the freedoms of association, of assembly, and of the press, it is in the category of political rights. According to the Marxist view, in a class society, those who represent and maintain the economic base constitute the class occupying the ruling position. And all political rights, including freedom of speech, serve to enable the ruling class to maintain possession of that society's economic base. For this reason, freedom of speech, in whatever form it manifests itself, in essence can only be a freedom belonging to the ruling class. The ruling class is absolutely not capable of allowing the classes it rules to use this freedom to fundamentally destroy its economic advantage and political control, and so it is also absolutely not capable of allowing the governed class to enjoy this freedom on the same level as itself. Freedom of speech that transcends class does not and cannot exist either in a class society or in a society characterized by class struggle.

That being the case, then why do the members of the capitalist class insist on saying that all people are born with an equal right to freedom of speech? They said this before seizing political power in order to resist the autocratic rule of the feudal nobility and the power of the church, and to gain the right to propagandize bourgeois democracy and science, creating favorable public opinion for the development of capitalism; they said this after seizing political power in order to cheat and appease the proletariat, paralyze the proletariat's class consciousness, and cover up the fact that speech in capitalist society belongs only to the propertied class. They are very clear, despite speaking of freedom of speech as being above class, about definitely not being able really to allow the proletariat to enjoy freedom of speech on the same level as themselves. Every manifestation of political freedom has definite material means for its expression. If people are to enjoy freedom of speech fully, then they must possess newspapers and periodicals, radio stations, printing plants and similar tools of public opinion. And if these media are not controlled by the capitalist-class states, then they are the sacred, inviolable, private property of the capitalists; and as long as these media are not supplied to the proletariat, then the proletariat cannot fully enjoy the right of freedom of speech. It is just as Stalin said: The capitalist class talks in vain about freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press, but "since it is impossible for the workers class to possess the proper meeting places, good printing plants, an adequate supply of paper for printing, and so forth, then as far as the workers class is concerned these freedoms are merely empty words." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 402)

In some countries in which capitalist-class control is comparatively secure, bookshops sometimes even openly sell certain Marxist publications, and at mass meetings and on broadcast media people representing the workers class will sometimes appear. Does this represent a change in the fact that the proletariat and the capitalist class cannot enjoy equal freedom of speech? It does not. Because these occasions of the proletariat overcoming all kinds of difficulties in material conditions and being victorious over all kinds of difficulties created by the capitalist-class authorities are compared with the flood of capitalist-class opinion filling nearly all of society, overwhelmingly insignificant. They are not only no threat at all to the general circumstance of capitalist-class rule but, on the contrary, can be used by the capitalist class to dress up the capitalist world as having so-called "true freedom of speech." Even so, the capitalist class will still mobilize its own immense and powerful tools of public opinion to drown them out and stifle them. After the first

volume of Marx's "Das Kapital" was published, Germany's capitalist class did its utmost to maintain a "conspiracy of silence" to stifle it, so that Engels had no choice but to adopt the method of using a pseudonym to publish book reviews in the capitalist newspapers and periodicals, criticizing "Das Kapital" from the capitalist point of view in order to attract the attention of people throughout society to the book. Aside from this, we must not forget that this point of freedom of speech that has been gained by the proletariat is, after all, firmly in the hands of the capitalists. Because once they feel that those opinions are dangerous to the stability of their control, they can immediately retract this freedom under pretext of the law.

After the proletariat seizes political power, freedom of speech still cannot become an inalienable right that every person is born with, because for a long time class struggle will still exist. The proletariat, in order to preserve the socialist system of public ownership and consolidate its own political control, can only give the right to political freedoms, including freedom of speech, to the masses of people, and absolutely cannot give them to the antagonistic classes or the remnants of them. As was clearly formulated in the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" promulgated in our country in 1954: "The state, in accordance with the law and for a specified period of time, hereby strips feudalistic landlords, bureaucrats and capitalists of their political rights." Comrade Mao Zedong, in his work, "On Dealing Correctly with Internal Contradictions Among the People," clearly points out that the people's democratic dictatorship must repress reactionary classes and factions within the state and exploiters resisting the socialist revolution, and that "for a certain period, landlord class elements and bureaucrat-capitalist class elements will not be given voting rights or the right to express their opinions." The "Government Working Report" promulgated at the second session of the Fifth People's Congress in 1979, in proclaiming that in our country, excluding Taiwan, "the landlord class and the rich peasant class have already been eliminated as classes," and that "the capitalist class also no longer exists as a class," also pointed out that "all kinds of class enemies will still exist for a long time to come, and we must still impose a dictatorship of the proletariat on them." That is to say, we must still strip all kinds of class enemies of their right to political freedoms, including freedom of speech. This clearly indicates that freedom of speech in socialist society, just as freedom of speech in capitalist society, is not something that transcends class. The only difference between them is that socialist society represents a dictatorship of the overwhelming majority over a very small minority, and so it has no use for the blind, excessive freedom of speech of the capitalist class. On the contrary, it publicly proclaims that freedom of speech can only be for the masses of people and cannot be enjoyed by reactionary classes or antirevolutionary elements. And the more clearly and forcefully this is proclaimed, the more the value of this freedom of speech is enhanced.

Some people consider that freedom of speech in socialist society is "the right to speak without restraint" and that, excepting any right of freedom of speech for exploiting and reactionary classes and antirevolutionary elements, freedom of speech for citizens should not have any other limit or restriction. This viewpoint is also incorrect. No one can deny that once an opinion is expressed, it has the possibility of producing all kinds of influence and leading to all kinds of results, and that some have the possibility of bringing about harm to other people or to society, such as destroying others' reputations, destroying the stability of society, and so forth. For this reason, in order to preserve the rights of citizens and the benefit of society, a socialist society on the one hand must give its citizens true freedom of

speech, and on the other hand must impose the necessary restrictions on citizens' freedom of speech. So-called absolute freedom of speech without any restrictions at all fundamentally does not exist. In our country, what are the main restrictions placed on citizens' freedom of speech?

First of all, there are the limitations in the constitution. The constitution is the fundamental, great law of the nation and is the concentrated manifestation of the will of the proletariat and of the broad masses. The citizens' freedom of speech can only be exercised within the limits allowed by the constitution, and any opinion that is in violation of the spirit of the constitution's principles cannot enjoy the freedom to be fully expressed. As it is formulated in the first chapter of the constitution: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist country that is a dictatorship of the proletariat based on an alliance of workers and peasants led by the workers class." "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership for the entire Chinese people. The workers class carries out its leadership of the nation through its own vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party. The guiding ideology of the People's Republic of China is Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought." For this reason, all opinions that are opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the path of socialism, to the leadership of the party, or to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are equally not entitled to the freedom to be publicized in newspapers, magazines, books, broadcasts, movies, drama, and so forth, and are also not entitled to use other means for their free dissemination. If anyone intentionally publishes this kind of opinion, those guilty of slight offenses will receive criticism and education; those guilty of serious offenses or who are incorrigible will receive the appropriate punishment. Is proceeding in this way violating citizens' right of freedom of speech? It is not. Marx expressed it well: "There are no rights without obligations, and there are also no obligations without rights." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 137) No hard and fast line can be drawn between rights and obligations. Our country's constitution, along with formulating citizens' right to freedom of speech and other rights, also stipulated that citizens "must support the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, support the socialist system, and support the unification of our ancestral nation and the unity of the various nationalities." For this reason, not allowing opinions that are opposed to the party or to socialism, as well as not allowing the free publication of opinions destructive to the unification of our ancestral nation and to the unity of the various nationalities, is simply combining the rights of citizens with their obligations, and there is no question at all here of violating our citizens' rights to freedom of speech.

Second, citizens' freedom of speech must also be limited by the relevant articles of all kinds of other laws, decrees, and regulations constituting our written laws and regulations. For example, according to our country's penal code, engaging in acts of inciting antirevolutionary activity, trumping up false accusations to harm others, fabricating facts to slander others, and fabricating rumors, are all crimes. And this means that all speech constituting these activities of expressing antirevolutionary views, trumping up false charges to harm others, slandering others, as well as all kinds of rumors, not only cannot be freely published but those who publish it must also be punished in accordance with the law. This, then, constitutes a limitation on the speech contained in antirevolutionary views, false charges and slander against other people, and rumors. The view that we cannot check or "apprehend" those who publish antirevolutionary views, but can only argue with them and pass judgment on them after the fact, is fundamentally in violation of the stipulations of our country's penal code. Furthermore, our country has formulated all kinds of regulations to guard secrecy. According to these regulations, no one, in the course of

conversation or communication with foreigners, or in speeches or writings directed abroad, is permitted to reveal state secrets, and if anyone does he will be prosecuted to the full extent of his crime. This can be said to be a limitation on speech involving secret matters.

There is another limitation on freedom of speech, and that is the limitation of socialist public morality. For example, we often emphasize "not saying anything that is not good for unity," and if anyone publishes this kind of opinion, although he will not be punished by the law, he will be criticized and denounced by the opinion of society. Every citizen who has socialist awareness should not only conscientiously use the relevant stipulations of the constitution and all the laws and regulations to restrict his own speech but should conscientiously use socialist morality to restrict his own speech.

In addition, among the citizens of our country there are 38 million Communist Party members. The freedom of speech of this portion of citizens, aside from the above-mentioned restrictions, must also be restricted by party discipline. Because party members not only enjoy the rights of citizens, but within the party also enjoy the rights of party members. For this reason, aside from having to take on the obligations of citizens, they must also take on the obligations of strictly maintaining the party line, maintaining the unity and concentration of political power in the party, and obeying party discipline. "Certain Standards Concerning the Internal Political Life of the Party" clearly stipulates that every party member is "absolutely forbidden to publicize, in the public propaganda of newspaper, periodicals, and broadcasts, opinions opposed to the decisions of the Central Committee, and is also not permitted to disseminate among the masses opinions contrary to the party's line, programs, policies, and resolutions." "One must pay attention to the distinction between internal and external; anything that pertains to internal party matters that are not permitted to be made public abroad may not be spread outside the party." These stipulations, from the point of view of their specific intention, are all particular limitations on the freedom of speech of party members. If one is a communist party member and, on the pretext of freedom of speech, spreads and publicizes opinions violating or even opposed to the party Central Committee's policies, this is absolutely forbidden by party discipline.

The bulletin of the Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out: "Promoting socialist democracy and a sound socialist legal system, and guaranteeing that the masses have the full right and opportunity to express their opinions on great affairs of state and bring up suggestions and engage in criticism of the party's political leadership, is our party's firm and unswerving guiding principle." Correctly understanding and exercising the right of freedom of speech is precisely for the sake of better carrying out this guiding principle. If only we eliminate all kinds of obstruction from the question of freedom of speech, then this right enjoyed by the masses of people will definitely be brought into play with increasingly positive effect in the course of the progress of socialism.

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CSO: 4005/541

PARTY AND STATE

ARTIST'S DECISION TO RETURN FROM UNITED STATES PRAISED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 24 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Ye Yuanshang [5509 0337 4545]: "My Homeland, My Mother"]

[Text] According to reports, when our country's famous painter Han Meilin [7281 5019 2651], praised by Americans as "China's Picasso," completed a touring exhibition of his works in over 20 American cities including New York, some of his good friends and relatives expressed to this outstanding painter the hope that he would choose to stay in the United States and continue his creative work there. He was told that outstanding artists like him could quickly become millionaires. But Han Meilin turned down this warm and sincere invitation and unhesitatingly packed for his trip back to his homeland.

Why did Han Meilin want to come home? According to his own statement, his decision to return home stemmed from his sincere and deep love of his homeland. He said: "I am the son of my homeland. My homeland is my mother. Although she is still poor and may occasionally be unable to produce enough milk for her baby, I cannot desert her, because I love her."

From the standpoint of some worshippers of Western material civilization, Han Meilin's behavior was close to being foolish and beyond their comprehension. In their eyes, the United States is undoubtedly an attractive country where people lead an affluent and comfortable life, while our homeland is poor and backward. At a time when many people have unsuccessfully tried every means to get there in the hope of enjoying such a material life, Han Meilin showed not the slightest interest in leading an affluent material life such as that in the United States. Does this strike pity?

It is painful to note that following the 10 years of catastrophe, patriotism has been trampled underfoot, distorted and forgotten. Many people do not understand the greatness of our homeland, with its centuries-old history, splendid culture and rich national legacy which have produced countless outstanding talents. They do not understand what a tremendous contribution our Chinese nation has made to mankind. Painter Han Meilin is well aware that his artistic talent is not endowed by nature; he has gradually grown up in the embrace of his homeland, under the care of his own mother, and under the patient guidance of his teachers. Painters must also be grateful for the favorable conditions at home, as well as for the care provided by the party and support from the people. For example, the murals in the Dunhuang

Caves; Buddha figures carved in stone walls in Yungang and Longmen; wooden soldiers and horses in the tomb of the emperor of the Qin Dynasty; colorful ceramics, sculptures and bronze vessels of ancient times; famous Chinese handwritings and paintings; and scenic points of interest in our country have provided artists with inexhaustible sources of inspiration and valuable nourishment for their creative work. These are facilities that can find no substitutes in the modern Western material civilization.

True, at present, our suffering homeland remains poor and its material living standards lag behind that in the Western countries. This is a fact no one can deny. Like a mother recuperating from a serious illness, it is still physically weak, and unable to produce enough milk for babies to suck. Perhaps there are wounds to be healed there. Because this has been caused by many factors, it is not the mother's fault. As its sons and daughters, how can we forget the care we have received from our homeland and leave it because it is temporarily short of milk? How can we desert our poor mother? Should we leave her because she suffers from illness? Of course, a mother cannot avoid making mistakes. Occasionally, she might have wrongly punished her children. Is there anyone, from childhood to adulthood, who did not receive a slap from her? Can he hate her for this reason? At a time when she is short of milk, we must more closely rally around her, comfort her, give her affection, take good care of her, and mobilize all resources available to us in order to nurse and feed her with nutritious food and make her recover from illness as quickly as possible. To achieve this end, we must first understand and love her, share with her joys and sorrows and breathe the same air as she does. She is always our mother with or without milk. It is precisely this attitude that has been adopted by painter Han Meilin and countless other patriotic intellectuals. This is why so many intellectuals living overseas cherish their homeland, and why so many other overseas Chinese want to trace their roots back here.

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CSO: 4005/546

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEED FOR VARIETY IN ART STRESSED

Beijing WENYI BAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 3, No 4, Feb 81

[Article by Chen Danchen [7115 0030 2525]: "Variety, the Magic of Life and Arts--Critique of Formula"]

[No 3, 7 Feb 81 pp 45-48]

[Text] "In the science of history, one can hardly do anything by relying simply on some formulae."¹--Marx

A Fabricated Formula

The volume of literary works in the world is as broad as the ocean; no one would think that these are simply concocted according to a certain prescription. Because anyone knows that every outstanding work is a crystallization of the artist's creative exploration of man, life and arts; hence, all works vie with one another on account of their respective singular contributions. Recently, I read in succession several articles which criticize "In the Dossiers of Society" and "Flying in the Sky" and they somehow indicate a different view. Here I shall refrain from discussing the success or failure of these works themselves but I do think that the basic argument of these critical articles is not persuasive enough and hence warrants our discussion. They almost all take the stance that socialist literary works must follow a standard, a formula. And this is:

A society has only one intrinsic quality; an era has only one typical environment; a class has only one kind of model personality.

They think that the socialist society was established after the founding of our state and its intrinsic quality could only be brightness. Whether it was between the late 1950's and the early 1960's, when we suffered unprecedented disasters and setbacks, or during the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway and millions of people sustained calamities, the intrinsic quality of our society, according to them, was also brightness. Along with this, they confuse actual life in society with the socialist system, equate socialism in our ideals completely with the prevailing system, and confuse the typical environment described in literary works with the entire social environment in our realistic life, and therefore think that, when they describe the social environment in whatever period and whatever aspect during the 30 years, the literary works should all "reveal such brightness" and "make people feel inspired;"

otherwise, these works would describe only the superficial and not substantive aspect, they would not be genuine but distorted, and they would oppose and suspect the socialist system and should hence be driven out of the temple of literary portrayal.

They also think that in this social environment whose intrinsic quality was all brightness, every class had only one kind of model personality, and this kind of model personality could only be the overall representative of a certain stratum of a certain class. In the eyes of some, the model is also directly taken as a hero, and a non-hero would also be a non-model. If one writes about a chief officer, he would be writing about his whole army and about all leading cadres of the country; if he writes about a bad chief officer, his spearhead would be pointing at "the great liberation army" or he would be vulgarizing the old cadres; if he writes about a warrior, he would be writing about a "most lovable person;" if he describes how a few warriors carried out erroneous commands, he would be smearing the whole liberation army; if he writes about a youth, he would be writing about the representative of all youths of New China, who must therefore be "worthy of emulation" or a "valiant warrior dedicated to the changing of realities;" if he writes about some youths with unhealthy ideas, his work would be untrue, untypical, or "at odds with realism."

These articles almost invariably cite a passage of Engels' discourse in his letter to Ma, Ha-ke-nai-se [phonetic] in order to prove that such a formula is correct and beyond doubt. Some articles even directly suggest that this passage of Engels' discourse is the "yardstick" by which they measure those works.

People have all had occasions to go to a factory, where standardization is stressed in production. Any accessory or product must be based on a definite measurement, and not the slightest discrepancy can be allowed. They can indeed be tested by measuring and by chemical, physical means. But, such products must all be of the same complexion and the same size, because they come from the same mold. This is the characteristic of industrial production, and this can never be violated.

Literature portrays people and social life. There are no two persons in the world who are exactly the same and who come from a common mold, much less any mold which is capable of replicating the same social life. Literature is the product of a writer or artist's spiritual labor, the result of artistic creation. It needs innovation, not a mold; it needs exploration, and not a formula. There is no masterpiece in the world which is created according to a model prescribed by others, nor is there any "yardstick" which is capable of defining an artist's incomparably lively artistic practice. It is ludicrous for anyone to try to establish the paradigm for the world's literary and artistic works by a single standard, a formula, or a yardstick; yet this is not necessarily something that never happens. Several years ago, under the test of "fundamental tasks," three-salient treatment, and formulas of the like, all literary and artistic works were negated and only a few "models" which were poured from the same mold were left: this was a fact most familiar to people. But the duration of the existence of such formulas and works can hardly be very long. In foreign countries, in years of the past, similar phenomena also occurred. This was why Balzac said with feeling:

"Just try to talk with this line of pig-headed people who indulge in achieving uniformity in everything; they always hope to have a law which everybody must obey, just as everybody must wear the same kind of clothes, like the same color and believe in the same

religion; in their eyes society is just like a big military camp! Just because the world has had a Lessing, some people therefore demand that all poets must imitate Lessing; little do they realize that precisely because there has been a Lessing, there is necessity to oppose copying his style."²

Balzac's words might be rather poignant, but they are nonetheless true. Yet, after more than 100 years, we still do not lack such people today. Perhaps Balzac was a "bourgeois writer," and his words may not be appropriate for us to regard as instructive; then let us hear what Lenin also had to say:

"Indisputably, literary undertakings are least susceptible to mechanical equalization, unification, or subjugation of the minority by the majority." "We still do not wish to propagate any uniform system or solve our tasks by a few decisions. No, in this field (meaning literary field--this writer) it is least permissible for us to apply any formulaism."³

It looks like literary and artistic works are really different from industrial products; it is impossible to define literary and artistic creation by a formula or a yardstick. A theory which postulates that a society can only have one intrinsic quality, an era can only have one typical environment, and a class can only have one model personality, cannot be used to correctly guide but, on the contrary, is liable to constrain, socialist literary and artistic creation, let alone the fact that this yardstick is itself inaccurate since it is fabricated subjectively apart from practice in social life and apart from practice in artistic creation.

Variable, Rich Life--Brightness, System, Quality

Cherny sheusky held that "variety is the magic of life."⁴ This was a very succinct analysis and generalization of the objective world. In a certain sense, without variety, there would be no modern social life. The more advanced society is, the more variable the content of its life. Drabness, paucity, simplicity and uniformity are the characteristics of primitive social life.

In the case of either the natural world or social life, it is always rich, variable, spectacular, and indefinitely changeable. Man's perception of natural life and social life continues to deepen and continues to develop, yet it is forever inexhaustible. If we ascribe such complicated and changing phenomena of social life and its intrinsic qualities to a kind of frozen and rigid formula, either brightness or darkness, then that would be a metaphysical, twisted perception. Brightness and darkness are ordinarily a kind of natural phenomena; but even with respect to day time and night time respectively, they are not sufficient to indicate their entire intrinsic qualities, let alone their being merely adjectives and modifiers in the literary language when they are used to describe social life, and not scientific concepts in sociology, historiography, or literary studies. Of course, it is not necessarily impermissible to use them sometimes to describe certain social and historical phenomena, but we can do this only to a certain limit, and not apply them universally and without restriction. In our social life there are topics such as politics, economics, ethics and morals; in our work there are successes and failures, progress and development and defects and faults; in man's feelings there is gladness, anger, grief and pleasure...: what all of these rich, complicated situations create together is a gorgeously colorful picture, and definitely not

something the two drab colors of black and white can generally interpret. For instance, insofar as our feudal society is concerned, poetic works might just say, after several thousand years of long, dark nights, etc., etc., but historical works must explain how for several thousand years our nation fared through a tortuous path to gain advancement and development. In the course of the history of the feudal society, there were dark years of corrupt politics, cases of injustice plaguing the whole country, continuous warfare, and the people living in dire poverty. There were also periods like the Kaiyuan reign in the peak days of the Tang Dynasty which Du Fu described as one of honest politics, economic prosperity, and the people living a stable and abundant life.⁵ Also, in the case of the bourgeois society, Marx sharply pointed out: "As capital emerges into this world, it drips blood and dirty things from head to toe and through its every pore."⁶ But he also clearly said: "The bourgeoisie has played a very revolutionary role in history."⁷ Engels also had this to say: "Just as Marx sharply and emphatically pointed out the bad aspects of capitalist production, he at the same time also clearly proved that this social form was necessary for social productive forces to develop to such a high level; only on this level would the same development of all members of society commensurate with what man deserves become possible."⁸ These various situations were all undoubtedly historical facts, and they all revealed every society's complicated intrinsic qualities. Therefore, our study of history and of social life should be concrete, one of seeking truth from facts, a scientific one, and not one of using a few abstract concepts as a formula or measuring it with a "yardstick" in order thus to derive either this or that conclusion.

Lenin criticized this erroneous method of study many times, saying: "From the theory of Marxism, Marxists have undoubtedly borrowed only the precious methods necessary for illuminating social relationships, so that when they appraise their own estimation of social relationships, they rely not at all on such nonsense as abstract formulas as their standards, but on the correctness of this appraisal itself and its accord with reality."⁹ Precisely because some comrades are restricted by a kind of abstract formula, so they dare not even to face the disasters resulting from the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" squarely, and they dare not even acknowledge that the society of those days has already undergone a gigantic metamorphosis, but still insist that the intrinsic quality of the society of that period was still brightness (or brightness in the main). This way, their theory is bound to run into sharp contradiction with objective actual life and also unacceptable to those who personally experienced this passage of history. In respect to the complicated social realities at present, when new things are replacing old things and when drastic struggles are taking place everywhere, if we continue to use such abstract concepts as either "brightness" or "darkness," we would likewise be unable to explain them clearly. The characteristic of a metaphysical viewpoint is not taking moving, changing lively realities as the object of study, but clinging to a fixed, rigid, unchangeable concept doggedly. In their view, a thing "is either so, or is not so; otherwise, every other alternative would be nonsense:" a society is either bright, or is dark; no other alternative exists. Because they think that a thing cannot be itself and something else at the same time; they do not even see that [between things] there is the aspect of contradiction and opposition, and there is also the aspect of mutual penetration, and in their process of acting on each other, they are constantly changing and developing. Engels once said sarcastically that this kind of theory at first looks so well in accord with our common knowledge and so very easy for us to understand or even "extremely respectable;" yet, once it encounters broad, complicated phenomena, "it immediately becomes partial, narrow, and abstract and falls into insoluble contradictions."¹⁰

The reason why we use some space here to talk about this question is because we wish to remind our comrades that the contention and wrangling between praising brightness and exposing darkness have been going on much too long. Some comrades thus tend to ignore exactly a most important question, and that is that brightness and darkness are far too insufficient to illustrate the concrete, lively and complicated true outlook of our social life, because they are not the clear scientific concepts of literary studies, historiography, or sociology. If we make up our minds to discard or no longer use these concepts, then it would also be possible for us to cast off such useless, trivial contention, and thereby seriously analyze and study our social realities in the manner of seeking truth from facts; this would also have a positive significance on our literary creation.

But, some comrades always like to take brightness as the only unchangeable intrinsic quality of our society. They always appear in the posture of resolute defenders of the socialist system and blame certain works as indicative of "a profound suspicion of the socialist society and its system;" there are also some comrades who think that literary works may depict some negative aspects, but they hold that "we must draw a clear line between such phenomena and the socialist system." They fail to understand that any social system is a concrete reduction from people's perception and organization of social production and social life. When man's perception no longer tallies with the law of social development, contradictions would occur or even produce a negative, bad influence on social production and social life. But man's perception is always relatively confined, and even correct perception must change along with social development so as to adapt to new realities in life. Thus, it is impossible to imagine that a certain social system is absolutely perfect and would no longer undergo any further development or change. Socialist society is a transitional period when the new replaces the old; in its various aspects, in its economic, moral and spiritual aspects, it still carries traces of the old society from which it has evolved. Hence it is full of complicated contradictions; how can it be all brightness and without any other content? The reason is that these comrades take certain social phenomena (such as the negative side) as unrelated to each other and partially isolated, or as things with only outer shells and no intrinsic qualities. Thus, they do not have the courage to look at our realities squarely and cannot understand that the various complicated phenomena in our social life are closely related to our current social system. The socialism to which we aspire and in which we believe is fine; the social system we have established is of a socialist character in certain basic aspects, but it is not all perfect. Fine socialist ideals are not the same as our realistic social system. Our current system has both its side of superiority and its defects and faults: among its institutions some are of a socialist character, but they are not perfect and remain to be improved; some are not only not of a socialist character but even of a feudalist character, and we need even more to proceed with reforms on them. But defects and faults are not necessarily equivalent to darkness; superiority may not be termed brightness either. As for the cruel lessons given us by emergence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they serve precisely to call our attention to the fact that we must look at the defects in our current system squarely. These are no longer any secret or theoretical questions merely subject to the oral stage of discussion, still less any question of whether or not we are allowed to harbor doubts. From the point of view of the Party Central Committee, the question has long been decided and summed up that we must make up our mind to carry out broad and profound reforms in the political, economic and cultural realms and begin to demonstrate them in our actions.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently clearly pointed out: the current systems of our party and our state are, fundamentally speaking, systems of socialist democracy; but they are still far from perfect, and they still even harbor some faults.¹¹ When he responded on another occasion to an Italian journalist's question on "how to avoid mistakes similar to those of the Cultural Revolution," he also emphatically pointed out: "We must seek to solve our problems by way of the system. Some of our past institutions actually still partook of feudalist influence, including personal superstition, patriarchy or patriarchal style, and including even the lifetime tenure of the office of our cadres. These problems are all the same; we are now trying to study how to avoid a repetition of these phenomena, and we must begin with the system. Our country is one with a history of several thousand years of feudal society lacking socialist democracy and socialist legal system. Only thus can we hope to solve our problems."¹² Comrade Deng Xiaoping's talk could not have been more clear in explaining that the emergence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had to do with our system; our current system has defects and faults, and it must be reformed. And the defects he listed apparently are far from individual, concrete small problems but problems of a fundamental nature relating to the political life of our state. If our literary works can correctly and symbolically reflect certain aspects of our social life and our social system, reflect these reforms which are related to the weal or woe of the vast ranks of the people and which affect even the total advancement of history, are they not worthy of our encouragement and praise? Do they not produce a good effect on the construction of our four modernizations in progress? Yet, with regard to such problems which are already theoretically clear and practically being handled, some comrades watch but do not see, and hear but do not heed. On the contrary, when they are slightly broached, slightly described in literary works, such works would be subject to terrible and serious reproaches (as to whether these works are written correctly and successfully, and how profound they are, all this can be another question for our full discussion). This cannot but remind us that there is absolutely no reason for some comrades to repeatedly hurl the accusations of "smearing," of "doubting," and of "directing the spearhead of their struggle really at our entire socialist system today" on the part of these works, as they have at least substituted such conceptual things as socialist ideals and fundamental principles for, and confused them with, the current system, also passed off the part of non-socialist faults in the current system as socialism, and thereby covered those faults under the bright cloak of socialism. Therefore, what is being strenuously maintained by the formula that a society has only one intrinsic quality, namely, brightness, is not the real socialist system but precisely the part of faults and non-socialism in the current system which we must reform.

This theory of "intrinsic quality is no other than brightness" being taken as a Marxist theory has been in vogue for several decades, and it is trumpeted by some comrades even up to this day. This is closely related to the ultra-left trend of thinking in politics and idealism and voluntarism in philosophy, and therefore bound to arouse attention and exploration. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism hold that society itself is always in a moving and changing process. Man's perception of society is not accomplished all at once; it must be repeated many times, and it continues to develop. China's social life in the past 30 years has been moving in a zig-zag, ebb-and-flow fashion; many advancements and setbacks, disturbances and disasters, struggles and destructions have either appeared alternately or mutually combine and penetrate in a complicated and complex way. This is the law of the development of things, and it is also proved by historical facts. Our current social system has also been subject to tests in such a rigorous and complicated

process of practice. People can only proceed from such a ramified and changeable social practice in order to perceive, and penetrate through a large volume of historical phenomena in order to explore, the intrinsic quality. Like the perception of other things in the objective world, all this also goes through a process of progression from the elementary to the profound and of repetition. "Man's mentality proceeds from phenomenon to essence, and from the so-called primary essence to secondary essence, and thereby continues to deepen ad infinitum."¹³ "Man's perception as regards things, phenomena, processes, etc., is a deepening, indefinite process of proceeding from phenomenon to essence, and from the not-so-profound essence to the more profound essence."¹⁴ Lenin's classic exposition on this process of perception succinctly explained that such essence or intrinsic quality is not limited to a single one. Many comrades who stress that "a society's intrinsic quality is no other than brightness" have precisely forgotten this point. They cannot understand that the objective world is a process of movement, a continuously developing material; essence and phenomenon are also moving, ephemeral, and changing, and they change along with the change of things. Contrary to this, they take essence as a simple, partial, isolated, static and rigid concept, and therefore think that our perception of things and their essence can be accomplished all at once, and then it may also be abstracted by some authoritative personalities into a kind of permanent conclusion, so that from now on millions of people need no longer pay attention to the passage of time or to what great changes may have taken place in the realities of our life, and hence do not have to proceed with any new attempts at perception, exploration and study, but everything will be just fine if they simply rely on this ready, simple, and abstract conclusion on "brightness." Listening to such a view, people's mentality can only become stagnant and petrified and thoroughly disarmed in spirit; society too would cease its steps of advancement. Under such circumstances, what need is there for us to talk about artistic creation?!

"Only when perception reflects objective truth irrespective of man can it become an organic and useful perception to man, useful to man's practice, preservation of life, and preservation of his race."¹⁵ Writers and artists must also be like this; they must proceed from actuality, from the elementary to the profound and thereby perceive life, reflect life, and depict life. They must obtain what they wish to express from their personal experiences in actual life. This is the Marxist theory of reflection which accords with the law of literary and artistic creation. The theory, which cuts perception apart from practice, proceeds from subjective desires, and insists that literature must be diagrammed according to the formula that a society has only one intrinsic quality, namely, brightness, is bound to run into contradiction with the dynamic history and reality and with the perception of the vast ranks of the masses of the people, and create conflict. Feuerbach once criticized: "This argument which runs into contradiction with life, which takes the view of death and of a soul separated from the body as the view of truth, is a petrified, false argument."¹⁶ It is not excessive to say that the formula of "intrinsic quality is no other than Brightness" is also a petrified, false argument of this kind; therefore, it is also unacceptable to socialist literary and artistic creation.

FOOTNOTES

- 1, 6, 7, 8, 10. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 130; Vol 2, p 265; Vol 1, p 253; Vol 2, p 276; Vol 3, p 419
2. "On Artists," in "Translations on Theories of Classic Literature," Vol 10, p 106
- 3, 9, 14, 15. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 648; Vol 1, p 59; Vol 2, p 608; Vol 2, p 139
4. MEIXUE LUNWEN XIAN [Essays on Esthetics,] p 62
5. YIXI [Remembering the Past]
11. RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Nov 1980
12. DANYUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS], No 12
13. "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 278.
16. Cited indirectly from "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 142
[No 4, 22 Feb 81 pp 46-48]

[Text] Model of Variety, Diversity--Environment, Personalities

Since the objective world is complicated and variable, the model environment and model personalities created artistically by writers also cannot be uniform but should be similarly variable and diverse.

But some comrades somehow demand that a literary work should attend to each and every aspect, all-inclusively reflect "the entire social life;" they require a literary work to "see through the overall situation" and reflect "the whole reality." They confuse the so-called "entire," "overall" and "whole" social environment with the concrete, typical environment depicted in a literary work. Thus they think each era has only one typical environment; any work which depicts the content of present social life must have its typical environment reflect "the entire social life" of all China. Here the "entire," "overall" and "whole" nature also becomes part of the intrinsic quality of brightness repeatedly criticized above. They also take commonality, class character and political propensity as the synonyms of model; however ordinary, clumsy and conceptualized the image of a personality is depicted, it is a model so long as it embodies the commonality of a certain class; whatever the individuality and characteristics of the image of a personality might be, too, one need only to search for, and judge, his intrinsic quality from his office and political status. Hence they actually assert, "once the raw data of life are turned into an artistic product, its personality becomes a model." When a chief officer is depicted, he becomes the representative of all chief officers, or the model of chief officers; when a youth is depicted, he becomes the representative of the youths of all China, or the model of New China's youths. These views reflect at least a great misunderstanding of the concept of model. But what makes this question so terrible is that such a misunderstanding has been generally in vogue during a rather long period and was applauded as classic. In the early 1950's, externally imported theoretical formulas that a

so-called model is "consistent with the intrinsic quality of a given social force and with the intrinsic quality of a given society's historical phenomena," that the question of model is at all times a question of political character, etc., were broadly trumpeted and propagated, and also used to guide creative writing. A society has only one intrinsic quality, an era has only one typical environment, and a class has only one typical personality: these formulas are obviously evolved from the aforesaid ones.

But a vast history of literature tells us, neither facts nor theories are of this nature. In the literary products of China and foreign countries there are countless artistic models who are neither heroes of a certain principal class nor repetitions and duplicative of each other; and in a particular work, nor is the image of any personality considered automatically as having achieved the level of an artistic model. An artistic model lies first of all in his clear individuality and characteristics; without individuality, there can never be a model. A model is also a concentrated generalization of certain common qualities and characteristics of a certain kind of social life, a certain type of personality; without generalization, there can also be no model. An artistic model itself should be a perfect, beautiful whole, including the personality's image, state of mind, character, and aspects of the like, which should be complete, coordinated, harmonious, and consonant with the logical development of life. The model can, and should, reflect certain intrinsic qualities and characteristics of a given class in a given society, but cannot at the same time be the overall representative of a whole class. Similarly, the typical environment in a literary work is the concrete environment where certain ways of life unfold and certain things engage in activities as depicted by the writer. It should also be special, individual, and indicative of its own characteristics. Naturally, this concrete environment not only cannot be an isolated land of Peach Blossoms separated from the general era and whole society, but also more or less generally includes certain common intrinsic qualities and characteristics of that era and society and emanates definite atmosphere of the given time. Therefore, there must be countless strands of an inseparable relationship between the typical environment depicted in a literary work and the entire vast and complicated society, and the former may even to a considerable degree be subject to the constraint of the entire society's trend of historical development. But this by no means suggest that it is a miniature of the whole era and whole society with no details omitted, and still less something that can be prescribed by a single abstract concept of brightness or darkness.

For instance, in the history of Chinese and foreign literature, "Dream of the Red Chamber" has been called as "an encyclopedia;" Tolstoy's works have been praised as "a mirror of the Russian Revolution;" Balzac's "Comedy on Earth" has been called "a compilation of the whole history of the French society;" these comments are after all only analogies, lofty appraisals, and they by no means suggest that their works have really reached such levels. For instance, Cao Xueqin basically did not develop any penetrating description over the realistic relationship of exploitation between the landlords and the peasants of that era, and he touched still less the peasant uprisings which already continued to occur at the time; Tolstoy's works not only did not touch upon the workers' movement, but also failed to positively depict any part of the process of the aristocratic intellectual--plebeian intellectual--proletarian revolutionary movement since the 19th century; Balzac neither attentively depicted the heroic personalities of the 1789 bourgeois revolutionary movement, nor depicted the continued struggles of the workers and peasants since the French

Revolution. With respect to their works, we fundamentally cannot judge them by the simple designation of brightness or darkness. But no one would blame them for having not reflected the "overall" situation, for having not written about the "entirety" and the "whole," or for being untrue, untypical, and thereby think that all this deflates their greatness. Social life is broad and complicated; a great writer may be able to more profoundly depict the outlook of social life in this historical period and to reveal its certain essential aspects, but his purview of his life and his thought can only be limited. Writers can neither cover the "entirety" and the "overall" situation, nor do they simplistically think that social life is either brightness or darkness.

Here, we may also test whether this formula is valid by the works of Lu Xun. "Ah Q" and "sister-in-law Xianglin" are commonly acknowledged to be immortal artistical models. They are both toiling people suffering extremely heavy exploitation and oppression; not only economically and politically, but even spiritually they were subject to terribly cruel inflictions. Yet, Ah Q has his singular personality, and Sister-in-law Xianglin also has her own clear character. These two model characters are distinctively different although they both belonged to the class of poor farmhands. The Weizhuang and Luzhen in which they lived and moved about may also be called typical environments. Between them, the description of Luzhen is especially limited, as the writer almost merely depicted in the main the family environment of Lord Lu, the 4th; yet, certain intrinsic qualities and characteristics of the feudal society revealed by the work are nonetheless quite vivid and profound. The disturbances aroused by Weizhuang, in which Ah Q lived also make people feel the temporal atmosphere of wavering and puzzlement on the part of the concerned classes and strata on the eve of the 1911 revolution; all this is depicted so genuinely and so lively. The respective descriptions of these environments consist of both definite generalities of the countryside society in those days and their own clear and individual characteristics. Therefore, we should acknowledge that these are genuine lively typical environments. But once we demand to measure the environment descriptions in these works with yardsticks like "entire social life," "overall situation" and "whole," then [Lu Xun] not only failed to describe many important parts of social life at the time, he also did not positively describe the "bright side" of the peasant uprising movement which was then developing with vigor. Since the Opium War of 1840, unprecedentedly large-scale peasant uprisings have taken place in history continuously (such as the people's uprising at Sanyuan Village, the Kingdom of Heavenly Peace movement, the uprising of the Nian Army, the Boxers movement, etc.); if we take the span of activities of Ah Q and others as example, some 80 riots by hungry people took place in the country in 1910 alone, and among these those of the largest scale were the riots by hungry people in Changsha and Haizhou which involved 10-20,000 persons; in Lu Xun's old home province Zhejiang the people's anti-levy and anti-tax struggles also broke out incessantly. Can we, because of this, question the author why, since the Chinese peasants had already risen up in struggle for 60 or 70 years, his product should still depict the peasants in such a negative, stupid image as if they had submitted to fate and never become awakened, and why it did not write about their positive struggles and how they rose in uprisings? Can we therefore think that Weizhuang and Luzhen were not typical or other than genuine, and Ah Q and Sister-in-law Xianglin were also a distortion of the Chinese peasants' heroic revolutionary image? Obviously, this kind of conclusion would be preposterous and ludicrous; yet it would have been the inevitable outcome of speculation according to this kind of formula.

The variety of artistic models is consistent with the diversity and variety of the realities of life and the writer's spiritual activities; by the same token, the latter provides sufficient ground for the writer's and the artist's indefinite exploration, pursuit and creative effort. A class can have all kinds and all varieties of models; any class can have different artistic models. Heroic models of the proletariat may include Bo-hui-er ("Mother"), Bao-li, Ke-Cha-jin ("How Is Steel Refined"), and Xia-bo-yang; Chinese peasants may be seen in the examples of Zhu Laohong [2621 5071 1813] ("Song of the Red Flag") and Yang Bolao [2799 0130 0525] ("The White-haired Girl"—a dance drama later changed Yang Bolao into a character who dared to fell Huang Shiren [7806 0013 0088] by three whippings of his shoulder pole: this was no other than a revision done under the command of the theory that a class could only have one kind of model); poor peasants similarly poisoned in their spirit may include Ah Q and also Sister-in-law Xianglin; in the Russian literature of the 19th century, there appeared the images of a series of "superfluous men" ranging from Onegin, and Bichurin to Luo-ting; who exhibited both a common character and their respective individualities and hence have remained lively characters in the history of literature; although all being misers, A-er-ba-gong ("The Miser"), Ge-lang-tai ("On-ye-ni Ge-lang-tai") and Pliushkin ("Soul of the Dead") each appeared on the stage of literature with a different character; and what similarity is there between the characters of the charming lasses Cui Yingying [1508 7727 7727] and Du Linlang [2629 7787 1224] who similarly pursued happiness in marriage, or between Xue Baochai [3641 1405 6865] and Lin Daiyu [2651 7818 3768] who were both secluded maidens of well known families? In China and foreign countries and in contemporary and ancient times, such examples are countless. We may find in our realistic life twins who look almost exactly alike and whose dispositions are also close to each other, but between them we may with care, still distinguish their respective characteristics in physical appearance, thoughts and emotions. In the case of the "gang of four" who were solemnly tried at the people's court, we can see both their common criminal quality and also clearly feel their sharply different individual features. It is a pity that our literary works often depict a single kind of face, so devoted to a common character at the expense of individuality that it becomes even unbelievable to others. For this reason, even up to this day the artistic model of a profound, vivid careerist and plotter with clear individual features still has not appeared on the stage of literature. This is precisely because we have not paid attention to tapping and portraying individualities. Individual features of personalities in literary works are not necessarily meaningless pure biological activities; they are, instead, fraught with profound social connotations. Only by imparting individuality to them can we make such personalities spring to life, stand up, appear authentic and full, exhibit a depth, and become lively embodiments of beauty. A successful model may be passed on for centuries and to many countries, many nations. It is possible for different classes, different nations and people of different ages to feel that certain features are present or have appeared in life around themselves and therefore realize that they actually represent "familiar strangers." For instance, Ah Q can only be "this" Ah Q and not any other. Ah Q cannot represent all the poor farmhands in Weizhuang, let alone the poor farmhands of all China; yet, Ah Q was also really and truly one of the poor farmhands in Weizhuang in early 20th century China. Nor is Ah Q just Ah Q himself; other peasants or certain people in other classes and strata can also possibly find certain image of their own in him, yet they cannot be confused with him or take each other's place. Such features which transcend time, space and classes are precisely where the secret and strength of an artistic model lie; how can they be clearly delineated by those formulas which suggest that an era has only one typical environment, and that a class has only one model personality?

Then, can Engels' discourse give any help to such theoretical formulas? I think if we earnestly and carefully read through the whole text of "To Ma, Ha-ke-nai-se," we should be able to see these points in a down-to-earth way: 1. Engels enthusiastically affirmed that Ha-ke-nai-se's "City Girls" had a "realist authenticity," "demonstrates the courage of a true artist." Because, "by the simple, plain, and unadorned technique" she used, she turned a very, very old story "into a new story through matter-of-fact narration." And, insofar as the novel's personalities are concerned, "they are sufficiently typical by themselves."* 2. Engels was of the opinion that the working class had already joined the struggle for as long as 50 years, so that these "drastic efforts made" by them in "active resistance" "should take up a place in the realm of realism for themselves." For this reason, he criticized "City Girls" as "still not sufficiently realist," and its personalities therefore "are perhaps not so typical." Please note that Engels is not at all like some of our critics who, because of the inadequacy of a given work, rashly deny its authenticity and model character to a different degree. 3. In putting forward his own understanding of realism, the core Engels reinforced was authenticity. Whether "City Girls" or other works were in question, and whether it concerned the description of details or model personalities in a typical environment, they must all be authentic. This alone is the most fundamental feature of realism. Therefore, even though the environment of "City Girls" was not described in such a typical fashion, it was still realist, except that it was "not sufficiently realist." 4. It was entirely reasonable and correct for Engels to demand that the "semi-conscious or conscious" active resistance on the part of the working class should be allowed to "take up a place in the realm of realism for themselves." But he did not at all think that every work must depict such a typical environment of the working class putting up active resistance; hence he was of the opinion that Ha-ke-nai-se "has very sufficient reason to depict the negative side of the life of the working class this time, and the positive side in another book the next time." Engels never held his own opinion as a "yardstick" for measuring everything. The quintessence of Engels' discourse was to ask people to pay attention to observation and study, to grasp the changes in social life and the changes in special features of the era, whereas these changes naturally vary with time and place and definitely do not come in any frozen formula.

When we understand Engels' theory correctly, we will discover that it has nothing to do with the formula fabricated by certain comrades. We should have the courage to abandon this imagined "yardstick" and cast away this theoretical formula divorced from actuality; this would enable literary and artistic creation to untie its present ropes and become alive once more in a broad world, so that it can absorb nutrition from rich and colorful sources of life to create vivid and variable artistic models.

What the history of life and artistic practice has enlightened us is this: variety is also the magic of arts.

Epilogue

A society has only one intrinsic quality, an era has only one typical environment, and a class has only one model personality: this formula has been passed on for a considerable period of time in the realm of our literary and artistic theories; some

*Hereafter all in "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 461-463.

textbooks on introduction to literary and arts also express such a view, and present-day articles on literary and artistic criticism likewise still often imply this view. In order to change this idealist, metaphysical theoretical view, we must still make great efforts. In stating some rudimentary opinions here, I am only hoping to arouse some discussion so as to further find an opportunity to clarify the truth.

9255

CSO: 4005/457

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COLLEGES URGED TO STRENGTHEN POLITICAL WORK FOR MODERNIZATION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 30 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Zang Chenguang [5258 2525 0342], secretary of the party committ. of the Wuxi Light Industry College: "Schools of Higher Learning Must Emphasize Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] Strengthening ideological and political work is really an important and urgent task which our institutions of higher learning now face in training morally sound, intellectually competent and physically fit students dedicated to the four modernizations program.

Since the founding of new China, ideological and political work has been emphasized by our institutions of higher learning as part of their excellent tradition. College students who were trained in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution in the main were basically politically conscious and professionally competent youths. Given the existing resources, including an original group of old ideological and political work cadres backed up by a newborn force trained in recent years, the institutions of higher learning are fully capable of doing a good job in the ideological and political field. But some college ideological and political work cadres are prone to waver between ideas. Many comrades appear to be worried, saying: "The ideological and political work in the past was entrusted to them by the party and respected by the people, while today they are being ridiculed as 'balm oil' cadres or 'political work cadres unfit to do other professional jobs.'" Young cadres now regret their decision to remain at their alma maters to engage in ideological and political work following their graduation. Some even view political work as a terrible career promising no future. For this reason, they are determined to seek other professional jobs.

At present, the state of mind that exists in the political work force is in sharp contrast to the demand for strengthening the ideological and political work. This contrast commands the attention of the concerned leadership departments. Measures should be taken to resolve it.

What causes the aforementioned ideological problem among the ideological and political work cadres? The reason is manifold. The party's reputation for ideological and political work has been seriously ruined as a result of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Since the downfall of the "gang of four," with the

emphasis of the party's work being shifted to the modernization program, some people have taken a biased view of affairs, pitting economic work against political work and vocational work against politics. As a result, the ideological and political work is ignored. In addition, many ideas not based on the principle of overall consideration have been put into practice in the process of implementing the party's policy toward intellectuals. In recent years, college teachers and engineering and technical personnel have been promoted to professional positions as a result of evaluation. Faculty members from lecturers up are now entitled to wage increases and a housing allowance, while ideological and political work cadres of equal academic stature are denied the same benefits. Today, many college political work cadres are mostly former honor college graduates. After devoting 10, or 20 years or more to political work, they have become experienced political work cadres with professional knowledge. But according to the regulations, they are not even on the list of faculty members. Some "concurrent" cadres who are on the list of faculty members can make no contributions to political work because they are required to perform the same professional work as other full-time teachers do. As a result, political work cadres who were former honor students have been passed over for promotion while comrades who graduated at the same time with similar academic achievements have been promoted to associate professorship. For this reason, some people have called the positions of professors and lecturers "stainless steel helmets" and titles of lifetime tenure, and the position of political work cadres an insecure job or "a paper hat" because it results from a democratic election. Furthermore, many teachers can now lecture at other schools with additional pay, while political work cadres must devote their spare time to ideological and political work without compensation. This is why some comrades have adopted the view of ideological and political work as an "unrewarding job," thus dampening their enthusiasm for doing such a work.

To strengthen the ideological and political education of students, the institutions of higher learning must build a relatively stable ideological and political work force. In order to successfully develop this work force, political measures or policies should be adopted to resolve the following problems:

First, the position and role of ideological and political work in the institutions of higher learning must be recognized. The ideological and political work is a guarantee of the realization of the four modernizations. Powerful ideological and political work is now more desirable than ever in order to insure the successful training of talent for the realization of the four modernizations. To achieve the objective of building a Chinese-style modern socialist power with high levels of democracy and civilization, we must face up to the historical mission of eliminating feudalism and the influence of bourgeois ideas, eradicating the leftist pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four", healing the wounds that hurt the souls, inheriting and carrying forward the excellent tradition of the party and the nation, and providing an environment in which youths can grow into maturity soundly and become a generation of reliable successors to the revolution who are both red and expert. For this reason, ideological and political work occupies a very important position in the institutions of higher learning. Today, as in the past, the ideological and political work is still a glorious task.

Second, ideological and political work should be recognized as a branch of science. In addition to teaching political theory well, colleges must quickly take action to

establish a branch of moral education. It is hoped that the departments of education will move swiftly to help normal colleges and university liberal arts departments organize relevant specialists on their staffs to compile and write instructions on moral education. The institutions of higher learning must organize comrades in charge of student ideological and political work into a moral education teaching and research group to give students moral education and conduct related research. The establishment of the branch of moral education will indicate to ideological and political work cadres the direction for achievement and will give a strong impetus to the drive for implementation of the ideological and political work in a scientific way, for raising its quality and for fulfilling the assignment of ideological and political work for the new historical period.

Third, political work cadres should be awarded positions and pay generally comparable to those of teachers of similar academic background. Although the Ministry of Education and the CYL Central Committee have put into effect a principle stipulating: "In general, the material compensations for political work personnel should not be lower than that for teaching personnel who graduated in the same school year," no policy has been adopted to carry out this principle (schools can enforce that portion of the principle that is in their power). If they are awarded positions comparable to that of teachers, a man-made gap can be filled immediately to encourage those old and new political work cadres to work hard to devise a scientific way to enforce the ideological and political work.

Fourth, concurrent homeroom teachers should be given specific compensation or reward. In addition to building a relatively stable ideological and political work force, the institutions of higher learning must mobilize and rely on vast numbers of teachers to carry out ideological and political work among the students, and should appoint middle-aged and young teachers with better political background and professional knowledge to act as homeroom teachers for students. This measure has been proven feasible and effective. Normally, homeroom teachers have concurrent positions. Since teachers who are invited to deliver lectures at other schools are compensated with additional pay, concurrent homeroom teachers should also be specifically compensated or rewarded for that portion of service they perform beyond their regular duties.

Fifth, the method of work should be effectively modified to meet the challenge of the new situation and tasks. College party organizations and their political work cadres are urged to conscientiously conduct investigations, study the new situation, solve new problems, sum up experiences and lessons, and explore the laws governing the development of ideological and political work in the institutions of higher learning. In addition to carrying forward our party's excellent tradition of ideological and political work, they must make effective efforts to improve the method of work and reform the rules and regulations in a way that takes into account the changing situation. Only in this way can they adapt their ideological and political work to the needs of the new situation and pledge to victoriously fulfill the glorious task of training high-quality talent for the four modernizations.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TRAINING OF VERSATILE TALENT, EXPERT DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 30 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Yan Fenggao [7061 7685 7559] and Li Jingcheng [2621 2529 2052]:
"Several Views on Education for Local Needs"]

[Text] Editor's note: Earlier, in light of the overall, comprehensive development of modern science and technology and the status of higher education in foreign countries, many comrades have urged our institutions of higher education to gradually integrate science with technology, and liberal arts with sciences, and to "educate students in an all-round way." But this article by Comrades Yan Fenggao and Li Jingcheng disagrees with this view. How can the professional training system of higher education be reformed to meet the needs of the development of the four modernizations? How can the institutions of higher learning raise their level of teaching and research programs? These are questions that deserve our discussion.

Recently, "how to educate talent in an all-round way" has become a much-discussed topic of interest in educational circles. Newspapers have also published a series of articles indicating the needs or inclination to "educate the talented in all-round way." This topic deserves extensive discussion because it involves the basic functions of higher education, how to adapt our reform to the actual needs of our country and other matters of principle.

1. The Essence of "Versatile Education"

"Versatile education" is not an unfamiliar topic. College undergraduate programs in foreign countries, especially in the United States, use this form of training. Higher education in old China was also patterned after that in the United States. Today, in reevaluating "versatile education," we must view it in an all-round way and see through its appearance to study its essence.

As the United States is dominated by a market economy, it seems impossible for its institutions of higher education to specifically base all their professional courses on the needs of their communities. If they were to do so, the problem of

unemployment at home would be certain to grow sharper. This is the economic base of "versatile education." In semifeudal and semicolonial old China, with social productive forces remaining in an extremely backward state, it was deemed absolutely unnecessary to place any demands on its institutions of higher education for specialization of their professional courses. As a result, its higher education took the undisciplined form of "versatile education." Shortly after liberation, higher education in our country faced a new challenge. At that time, our primary task was to reform and reorganize college departments, emphasizing the regrouping of specialized courses in an effort to change the system of "versatile education."

An observation of the aforementioned social basis will clearly reveal the reason why so-called "versatile education" was the only option open to the institutions of higher education under the capitalist system. During the past 30 years, some countries which are well aware of its weaknesses have vigorously developed postgraduate education programs so as to properly remedy that defective system that produces only versatile talent but no expert. Another strong measure to complement the "versatile education" is the on-the-job professional training program which is being vigorously developed by the developed countries. In their language, competition for markets means competition for talent, which begins with education. They have instituted a series of the on-the-job training programs sponsored by enterprises and communities. As soon as the "versatile talents" are recruited by enterprises and other departments, the first step is to give them backup professional training.

Therefore, an observation of merely one aspect of the education system in countries such as the United States and Japan cannot be used as a basis for determining whether they are interested in "educating purely versatile talent," or a system which produces only jacks of all trades but no expert. Judging from one aspect of their education, their college postgraduate education programs can probably be called a form of "versatile education." But a survey of their education system as a whole, including their postgraduate education, the on-the-job training and various degree offering programs, indicates that theirs is not a form of "versatile education."

The current reality in our country differs from theirs in that on the one hand, our higher education is a 4-year graduation system which combines the basic theoretical instruction and professional training with the postgraduate education system not yet universally adopted; on the other hand, thus far, no on-the-job training program is available for college graduates, and their professional education is still a gap to be filled. Under such circumstances, if we were to go ahead with "educating the talented in an all-round way" as they do, we would create a serious gap between college graduates' actual professional competence and the needs of work. During the early 1950's, we reformed our education with emphasis given to the establishment of professional courses in an effort to resolve that contradiction. Today, how can we recklessly throw away our historical experiences?

At present, as our country faces a shortage of talent in developing the four modernizations--the most acute shortage of all being reflected in various categories of professional talent--the adoption of "versatile education" is not an effective

measure to alleviate this sharp contradiction. Regarding "versatile education," Qian Zhirong [6929 5268 2827] of Johns Hopkins University, said: It has the advantage of providing students with a profound theoretical foundation and an ability to view things in an all-round way. Its disadvantage is reflected in the fact that its education process is too long to be able to meet the urgent needs of the developing countries; college graduates who want to go straight to work instead of being enrolled in postgraduate education programs cannot be expected to demonstrate very strong professional competence soon after their departure from a university." We believe that the reform of higher education should be viewed as a heroic effort to face up to the needs of the four modernizations and a thoughtful measure to produce professionally competent talent with greater and faster results on the basis of the 4-year straight education system complemented by professional training programs, rather than a device to avoid contradictions and to train talent in an all-round way. In other words, the reform of higher education is a difficult and glorious mission.

II. Truly Outstanding "Versatile Talent" Is Not Produced by Means of "Versatile Education"

In light of the highly divisional, interdisciplinary, extensive and complicated nature of modern science and technology, some comrades have urged our institutions of higher education to "educate talent in an all-round way," regarding the "establishment of various comprehensive and well-organized forms of 'superinstruction' as one of the important measures to reform higher education."

In response to this, we would like to volunteer the following preliminary views:

First, judging from the history of science and technology or from the survey of noted contemporary scientists, there are truly many people who have scored success in many fields. But a careful study of their growth reveals that they achieved "success in many fields" from a position of "being able to specialize in at least one field." Bertrand Russell was a world-renowned philosopher, mathematician and social activist. But he gained fame first as a mathematician, and from then on, he never gave up mathematics as a study. Some comrades have cited Nobel prize winner Simon as an example, calling him a "versatile talent." Actually, he is not a jack of all trades lacking an area of concentration. He is a scientist in management. True, he "knows a lot about administration, political science, enterprise management, organizational theory, sociology, psychology, and economics." But these are closely related programs of study usually taken by students of scientific management as regular or elective courses. In this sense, he is not too "miscellaneous" but an "expert" of high standing in terms of knowledge. A noted animal pathologist at Cambridge University maintained that someone who is capable of accumulating knowledge is not necessarily able to create anything. Shen Kuo [3088 2161] was a scientist of the North Song Dynasty occupying a remarkable place in the world history of science and technology. Although he scored remarkable success in many scientific fields, he was best known for his achievements in astronomy, the calendar and military science. "Aptitude comes from expertise" is a famous motto left by him. After summing up his 50 years of stage experiences, China's performing artist Mei Lanfang [2734 5695 5364] said that his experience in art proceeded from a little through a lot to a little again. The first term "a

little" refers to his "concentration of study on one area" at first, before he could use it as a basis for expanding his knowledge. Finally, he boiled down his knowledge to "a little" again. But this time "a little" means his art reaching a level of excellence.

Second, one has to broaden his knowledge in order to engage in comprehensive research. But merely broad knowledge is insufficient to make any genuine breakthrough. We recently attended several comprehensive study classes. A consensus was reached by the participants that it was not too difficult for them to conduct a general discussion and study of certain problems, but it was very difficult for them to proceed further into the substance of these problems. The reason is that most of them were not experts in any aspect of work; they had only general experience, and therefore could not make any breakthrough in any problem, despite their broad knowledge. They also quoted a popular proverb stating: "We are like knives too dull to be able to cut any meat." If they were scientists, a different picture would have loomed large. A scientist can apply his sharp professional skills to make a breakthrough in any area of study. In the face of unfamiliar problems, he can easily acquire additional related knowledge and then mount an assault on these problems from all directions. When Albert Einstein came close to the heart of the theory of relativity, his basic ideas were still insufficient to explain it in an all-round way. His epochal achievements came only after he refreshed himself in mathematics again. We can imagine that if he had begun to study many fields aimlessly for a long time instead of concentrating on one area single-mindedly, he might have wasted his time and passed up opportunities to get into contact with the theme--the theory of relativity.

It appears that an expert engaged in comprehensive research may become a truly comstanding "versatile talent" while a "versatile talent" who is a jack of all trades but not an expert can never become a true scientist even if he is interested in comprehensive research.

For this reason, we urge that in light of the current development of science and technology, the basic strategy of institutions of higher education remain that of strengthening their foundations as a method to make all students experts through education.

9574

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QINGHUA UNIVERSITY ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

President Speaks

OW251546 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 25 Apr 81

[Text] Beijing, April 25 (XINHUA)--The eight thousand students of Qinghua University, China's leading science and engineering university, were called upon by their president Liu Da today to carry forward Qinghua's tradition and dedicate themselves to the country and the people.

At the meeting, held on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the university, the president noted with pleasure the earnest and serious attitude of today's students for China's modernization.

He recounted the good work done by countless Qinghua graduates who are now scattered in all provinces of China and urged the present students to learn from their hard working spirit and the scientific approach that was characteristic of Qinghua.

Celebration activities will be held throughout the day tomorrow on Qinghua campus as well as in six other cities where the alumni are concentrated.

Qinghua, being one of the biggest universities in China, has some 8,400 students and graduate students, including those from 22 foreign countries, and some 600 professors and 1,000 lecturers.

There are now 16 departments with 43 specialities, scores of laboratories and nine pilot plants in the university.

Some 30 top-ranking party and government officials, holding posts of vice ministers and above including Yao Yilin, Kang Shien and Hu Qiaomu once studied at Qinghua.

Of the 400 members of the scientific council of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the country's leading scientists, 110 are Qinghua graduates.

Qinghua has also contributed to the world by producing such graduates as Nobel Prize winners Tsung-dao Lee and Chen-ning Yang and noted mathematician Shiing-shen Chern.

Alumni Mark Anniversary

OW251916 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 25 Apr 81

[Text] Beijing, April 25 (XINHUA)--Some 200 Qinghua University alumni, representing graduates of 6 decades and coming from various provinces and from Brazil, Canada and the United States, were guests of honour at this evening's tea party celebrating Qinghua's 70th anniversary, with 70-year-old President Liu Da present.

Chen Ning Yang cabled from the states his "best wishes to alma mater carrying on a fine tradition." K. K. Wang, writing on behalf of over 1,000 Qinghua graduates in New York, wishes the university "a more brilliant and a greater achievement in the second 70 years." Warm greetings were also sent from Qinghua students associations in Boston and Washington.

Van S. Lung, one of the representatives sent by Qinghua students associations in the United States, is son of the late Lungyun, a former Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee leader. At present vice-president of the National Association of Chinese Americans, Van S. Lung had a hearty chat today with old Qinghua professors Lu Ci and Lu Zuyin, sister and brother, who were his good friends in middle school and university. "We played and studied together in those years, and this is our first get-together since we parted in 1945," Lung said.

79-year-old Wang Changlin, who graduated in 1921, went all the way from Canada to Beijing specially for the occasion. His son graduated from Qinghua in 1952, and his grandson is now studying in the university's Department of Thermal Energy Engineering. "For me, Qinghua is home," he said. He expressed delight at the latest development of Qinghua.

Zhang Yueqian, deputy chief engineer from the Wuhan No 2 automobile plant, reported with real pride how the 132 Qinghua graduates working in this big automobile plant had played their part in designing and building up the enterprise.

The tea party was held in the ten-storey building designed by the 1960 civil and architectural engineering graduates. The building has a floor space of 75,000 square metres, equivalent to three-fourths of the total floor space of pre-liberation Qinghua.

Yu Jiazhi, deputy chief engineer of Shandong Province's Department of Coal Industry, recalled how Premier Zhou Enlai spoke to the graduates in 1950 and encouraged them to work hard for the country. Ye Pu, a graduate of 1959, brought President Liu Da a painting of Premier Zhou which she had done after his death. The painting has become popular and gone into 250,000 prints.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TRANSLATIONS OF UYGUR BOOKS HIGHLIGHTED

OW261216 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 26 Apr 81

[Text] Urumqi, April 26 (XINHUA)--The "Great Turkic Dictionary," written in Arabic in the 11th century and now a valuable reference source for studying the ancient history of Xinjiang and Central Asia, has been translated into the modern Uygur language.

It is now being translated into the "Han" (Chinese) language. Both Han and Uygur versions will be published by the Xinjiang People's Publishing House.

The "Great Turkic Dictionary," written by a scholar named Mahmut Kashgar in 1074, is virtually an encyclopedia recording the languages, literature, customs and religion of the people then inhabiting central Asia. It also describes the cities and towns and natural features of their regions.

The Uygurs, one of China's minority nationalities, live mainly in northwest China. They are descendants of central Asian immigrants who spoke three languages, the classic Uygur, Han and Arabic. Classic Uygur, now a dead language, was a branch of the Turkic language family.

The Xinjiang People's Publishing House has also printed a Han version of the long poem "Knowledge of Happiness, Enjoyment and Wisdom," which was believed to have been written in the classic Uygur during the 11th century by a palace poet in a small kingdom in Xinjiang more than 900 years ago. The book deals with the philosophy of the responsibility of the ruler to the ruled and the obligations of the ruled to the ruler.

Meanwhile, the Han versions of a dozen literary works of minorities, mostly Uygur, Kazak and Kirgiz folk stories have been published, and the ancient documents, classic epics, proverbial sayings and legends of Xinjiang minorities will be translated and published in Han language.

The Xinjiang People's Publishing House publishes books in the Uygur, Mongolian, Kazak and Han languages.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

MULTI-VOLUME BIOGRAPHY COLLECTION--Chengdu, 30 Apr (XINHUA)--China will publish a 50-volume collection of biographies of 500 outstanding revolutionary martyrs and historic figures in the Chinese Communist Party, according to the study society on early Chinese Communist Party members. The collection, expected to be completed in 5 to 10 years, also will include biographies on some non-party democratic people connected with the party's activities as well as a few on negative people within the party. The biographies are written under the principles of historical research in order to obtain truth from facts, the society said. The study society, which is in charge of editing the collection, was formed in March 1979. It now has 16 branches all over China with several hundred members. President of the study society is He Changgong, vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. [OWO10632 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 30 Apr 81 OW]

ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER--Beijing, May 3 (AFP)--China's first English language newspaper since the communist regime was set up in 1949 has just appeared on newsstands here. The first "trial issue" of CHINA TODAY came out on May 1 at what it called the "temporary" price of 10 fen (approx 0.06 US dollars). CHINA TODAY, which is produced by the Communist Party newspaper PEOPLE'S DAILY, will be published regularly starting from June. However until then, the newspaper, which is mainly intended for foreigners but which should also be available to Chinese, will bring out three "trial issues" each week, an editorial note on the front page of the May 1 issue said. CHINA TODAY will be distributed in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. [Text] [OWO31210 Hong Kong AFP in English 1155 GMT 3 May 81]

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